



THE  
PRÁKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ÁRŚHA) PRÁKRIT

EDITED BY

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Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.



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*TO*

*SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.*

*ETO, ETO*

*WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE  
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES  
OF INDIA*

*THIS WORK*

*IS DEDICATED*

*AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.*



# PREFACE.



In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS, has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks, but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted, in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chanda's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sutras and Prákrit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lála Mitra Rai Bahádu and Pandit Ráma Mítra Sástí in so readily placing at my service their MSS of Chanda's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

A F R-H

*Calcutta, October 1880*



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# INTRODUCTION.



The Prākṛit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chanda. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Vīra or Mahāvīra, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prākṛit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community \*. That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes, assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prākṛita-Lakṣhana. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Pāṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. 111), is the following *pāṇinibhagavān prākṛitalakṣhanam apī vaḥti saṁskṛitād anyat*, "dīrghalākṣhanam cha kutrachid ekam mātrām upaiti" itī, i. e., "the blessed Pāṇini also enunciates a Prākṛit rule, different from Sanskrit, viz., that a long vowel becomes short"†. Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Pāṇini was the author of a Prākṛit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Sūryaprajñāpti,

\* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due, e. g., the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sūtra I, 6. The mere fact of Chanda treating of an old form of Prākṛit, which was afterwards modified by the Jainas, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chanda with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertation inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.





and is as follows "*chattari*" *iti cha sūtre napuṃsakatvanu desah prākṛita-trāt, prākṛite hi lingam vyabhichāri, yad āha pāṇinih svaprākṛitalakshane, "lingam vyabhichāry api"* *iti, 1 c*, "as to the form '*chattāri*' occurring in the sūtra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prākṛit, for in Prākṛit the gender is changeable, as Pāṇini has said in his (work called) Prākṛitalakshana 'the gender is changeable also'" Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra I, 4 If our Prākṛitalakshana is the work referred to by those two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations The passage of Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation, but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind Malayagiri's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule Among all Prākṛit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule The nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Tivikīama III, 4, 69, *lingam atantram*, with its commentary *apabhraṃse lingam atantram vyabhichāri prāyo bhavati* It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confuses the Prākṛita-Lakshana with Hemachandra's work It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prākṛitalakshana, *lvachid vyatyayaḥ*, would hardly have suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so A confusion of Chanda's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chanda's work was, as it were, the frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhraṃsa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prākṛit generally Now Chanda's rule *does* apply to Prākṛit generally\* The fact, that both Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prākṛita-Lakshana to Pāṇini, is, of course, of no weight It merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work Still its traditional ascription to Pāṇini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative This character well agrees with Chanda's Prākṛitalakshana There is another curious circumstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention here, as it seems to bear on the question under notice Weber (in his *Indische Studien*, vol X, p 273) quotes another remark of that writer *bahurachanam prākṛitavād, uktam cha "bahurayane (ṣṇanena?) durayanam"* *iti, 1 c*, " (the use of) the plural is (accountable) by Prākṛit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expressed) by the plural'" Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra II, 12, with its commentary\* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

\* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is different (*durachanasya bahurachanam*) and seems to have been taken from Vararuchi VI, 63



|   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8  |
| उ | कु | ए  | तु | ड  | स  | हु | ज  |
| o | ku | nu | tu | du | su | hu | jh |

|   |    |     |    |     |     |    |
|---|----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|
| 9 | 10 | 11  | 12 | 13  | 14  | 15 |
| क | ख  | रक  | रु | खव  | ख   | ज  |
| J | d  | hkh | hh | hkh | hkh | ag |

|    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 16 | 17    | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 |
| ग  | च     | व  | ख  | ज  | ज  | स  | झ  |
| gn | chchh | tt | sh | J  | J  | ph | jh |

|    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
| झ  | झ  | झ  | ज  | ज  | म  | म  |
| jh | jh | jh | jh | jh | jh | jh |

|    |    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|
| 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 |
| म  | म  | म  | म  | म  |
| jh | jh | jh | jh | jh |

|    |     |    |    |            |           |
|----|-----|----|----|------------|-----------|
| 36 | 37  | 38 | 39 | 40         | 41        |
| म  | प   | ब  | प  | म          | म         |
| jh | pbh | bh | bh | hbh or mbh | bh or mbh |

gloss of MS C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sūtra of Chanda is always quoted in nearly the same Prākṛit transliteration as in Maḷayagiri, though all other sūtras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, e.g., the footnote to *sakḥiśānā* in II, 1, and the footnote to *diśtvam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chanda's sūtra by his Prākṛit quotation, and if so, the same Prākṛit quotation in Maḷayagiri must refer to the same sūtra (of Chanda). Perhaps the fact shows that Chanda's Grammar was originally written in Prākṛit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jain Prākṛit works, but that a few of his sūtras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prākṛit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chanda's Prākṛita Lakṣaṇa.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS A and B are the property of Dr Rājendrakāla Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr Mitra on p. vii, of the Appendix to Vol III, Part II, No IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS, but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the variae lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Pandit in Lucknow, who has since died, but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nāgari characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS C is a very excellent MS, beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Pandit Rāma Misra Sāstrī, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Kodāyā in Kachchh (W India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its



excellent execution It is said to have been copied from a very old MS, 400 years old, with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died The MS is complete, and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sūtra of the II<sup>nd</sup> chapter Whether this is owing to the original MS having had no more of it, or the student, who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear\* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prākṛit examples and quotations, it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus The MS C bears no date, but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin

MS D belongs to myself It was given to me by my friend Pandit Rāma Mīśra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS C It is a very fair MS, though not so good as C It is clearly and carefully written, but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Pandit Rāma Mīśra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS in the possession of a Pandit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar This original MS also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prākṛit ‡ MS C is written in the Jaina

\* The very curious error, noted on p 13 (निदृष्टि) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sūtra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS D, renders this improbable In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned pandit, though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably See, e g, the clumsy way in which sūtra CD I, 6a is drawn

† Thus गुरुण for गुरुण, गिरिण for गिरौण, I, 5, Sanskrit जेषा for येषा in I, 3, etc

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally I have noticed them in other than Jain writings, e g, in the MSS of the Prithiraja Rasau Most Jaina writings are from Western India On Jaina Prākṛit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp 383-392, E Muller, *Beitrage zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākṛit*, pp 11, 20, 30, Jacobi, *Kaipa Sutra*, pp 17 21, Klatt, *Dhanapala's Rishabha*

Prākṛit style, MS. D also, but not so uniformly MSS A and B are written in the ordinary Nāgarī of Eastern Hindūstān, but they show unmistakable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina or western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1 The symbol No 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS C this is always carefully distinguished from *u*. MS D in a few cases confuses them\*. But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even *u* (*u*) or *u* (*u*) is written, thus showing that the copyists had no notion of the meaning of that Jaina symbol.

2. In MS C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. See Nos 2—7.

3 The two symbols Nos 8 or 9 for *ḡh* and No 10 for *d* are always carefully distinguished in C, but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nāgarī symbol *d*, however, is also occasionally used in D, in C it is the usual one.

4 The substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D. In B it is found once, viz, III, 15 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣ*. On the other hand, MS A has once the very unusual substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*, viz III, 14 *ṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣ*.

5 The use of the symbols *ṣ* *b* and *ṣ* *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besum* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behim* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahū* (I, 3) and *vahū* (I, 9). MS D has *ibū* and *rivum* (I, 3), *gāṭ* and *gāṭi* (II, 16), &c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS A and B are no less uncertain, thus A has *vuddhi* and *buddhiu* (I, 10), *gāṭie* and *gāvihum* (II, 16), B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehim* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B prefers *v*†. As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6 There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols *ṣ* *s* and *ṣ* *s*, though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely, *e g*, *sīlam* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *sūra*. In D it is much more frequent, *e g*, *sasi* for *sasi* (I, 22), *smasunam* for *smasanam*, *sīshuh* for *sīrshuh*, &c. In A and B it is very common, thus in A and B, *sese*, *hamse* *pasuta* for *sese*, *hamse*, *pasutta*, (IV, 39), in A *tisanham* for *tisanham* (I, 6). The substitution of *s* for *s* is much more common than the reverse.

7 The symbols Nos 11 or 12 for *llh* often occur in D. In A and B

*Panchāṅkā* in J. G. O. S., vol XXXIII, pp 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, pp 137-143.

\* Once D writes *o* for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words, *e. g.*, *beyamu* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti him* (III 7), *barga* (III, 17), *banu* (III, 25).

these symbols are Nos 13 and 14 \* C always has the usual Nāgarī symbol क्ख, which also occurs twice in A In a few cases A B D write simply ख, C never

8 The symbol ग्ग for *gg* is very common in the marginal gloss, though not in the text, of C Once or twice it occurs in D Otherwise the ordinary Nāgarī form ग्ग is used In the originals of A and B, however, it must have been almost universal The copyists evidently did not know it, for they commonly write it as ग्ग *qn* or ग्ग *gj*, see Nos 15 and 16 Only once does A give the correct transcription ग्ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13)

9 The symbols, No 17 for *chchh* and No 18 for *tth*, are generally distinguished in C, there are only two exceptions, viz, *echchhu* for *etthu* (I, 11) and *pattham* for *pachchham* (III, 26) D uses the ordinary Nāgarī symbol च्च for both *chchh* and *tth*, thus *pachchham* = Skt *pathyam* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skt *pāṭhaḥ* in III, 26 A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nāgarī च्च *chchh* and त्थ *tth*, though the commonly write merely च *chh* in the place of च्च *chchh* On the other hand C and D commonly write No 17 and च्च respectively in the place of च *chh*

10 The symbol of ज्ज is No 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज्ज

11 The symbols Nos 22—26 or Nos 27 and 28 for *jjh* are used in C and D The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos 29—36

12 The symbol ङ्ग for *ṭṭh* is commonly used by A, B, D, rarely ट or ङ C has always ट Similarly the symbols ङ्ग or ङ्ग for *ddh* are commonly used by all four MSS I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards writing them, though, doubtlessly, they were always pronounced correctly (according to the rules Ch III, 26 Vr III, 51 II C II 90) Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS of Chanda I have met with every one of them in the MSS of the Prithiraj Rāsau Thus the symbol No 37 is strictly *pbh*, while Nos 38 or 39 are *bbh* Similarly Nos 13 and 14 (in the Prithiraj च्च) are strictly *llhh*, while Nos 11 and 12 are *llh*

13 The symbols ङ, ङ, ङ, ङ, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

\* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhagarati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*duḥkhanam*) The latter were in MS W of the *Prakṛita Prakāśa*, as noted by Cowell, p 90, (sutra 20)

originals It may be observed that, as a rule, च *dh* is a mistake for च *chh* and घ *gh* for व *vv*, thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17) for सच्चिय, B साघ (III, 9) for साच, the latter in B पघतः (III, 9) for पच्चतः. The occasional use of ह or ह्र for च is peculiar to D, e g, कह for कच (III, 2), पुहो for पुचो (C D III, 15a)

14 The symbol No 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh* MS D has No 38, and A B have Nos 29, 40 and 41

15 The mis-spelled symbol ह्र *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D In A it is very rare, in C it never occurs.

16 The symbol स- or सु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvāra, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1), never in C and D In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvāra, in conjuncts, e g, *lingañcha* (I, 2), *hñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *hñte* (I, 23), *jalant* (I, 12), *vambhaná* (II, 12), &c

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prākṛit observable in the MSS. are two

1. The presence of the dental न *n* In MSS A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word In MSS C and D, न is every where changed to ण, in accordance with the commoner Prākṛit usage (see Vr. II, 42) This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B, compare, e g, their introductory salutation, and their additions in sūtra I, 5 \*

2 The so-called *ya-sruti*, i e, the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS \*

The text presented in these four MSS differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS and from the list of sūtras appended to this edition The MSS may be divided into two classes The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D, but while the former MSS contain 99 sūtras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sūtras distributed into four chapters The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS, expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary † On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

\* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p cxiv

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D, that of the latter two MSS being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sūtras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sūtra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS A and B, sūtra I, 19 तुम सौ चविमत्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तुर च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुम mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sūtras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sūtras, placing them thus I, 19 तुम सौ चविमत्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जसि, I, 20 अमि तुर च. But when the sūtras are thus placed, the term च would imply that *तुम्हे* of the preceding sūtra is *also* to be understood in the last sūtra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually insert into the last sūtra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sūtra to अमि तुर तुम न च (see App C D, p 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sūtra but to a part of the sūtra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sūtra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant *ś* in the sūtras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sūtras (III, 1—9), the remaining sūtras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants, the intermediate sūtra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division\*. In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct save one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chanda next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

\* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sūtras are concerned, is recognised, it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial, or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chanda rules that every *single* श् *s* or ष *sh* changes to स *s* in Prākṛit (III, 18), so that as regards *single* consonants, स *s* represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chanda has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स *s*. Thus we have sūtra III, 14 सकारस्य खड्गः, illustrated by दश = दह, again sūtra III, 39 मागविकाया रसयोर लघौ, illustrated by शेष = शेषे. Here श् *s* and ष *sh* are indicated by स *s*, because by sūtra III, 18 they are no more श् *s* and ष *sh*, but have been already changed to स *s*, that is, दश = दस = दह, and शेष = सेसे = शेषे\*. This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sūtra III, 18. In that part, स *s* cannot represent the whole sibilant class, for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chanda elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant श् *s*, most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (श, ष, स). Thus in sūtra III, 2 श्वलोभ्यो व्यजन, श् represents स in खर्ग = सगं, and श् in श्रोतव्य = सोतव्य. That is, च *v* and र *r* are respectively elided after स *s* and श् *s*, next स *s* and श् *s*, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where श् *s* at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into स *s*, while स *s*, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chanda follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sūtra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts, and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sūtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of श् *s* and स *s*. Consequently they use स *s* throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants श् *s* and ष *sh* practically do not exist, having at once changed to स *s*.

\* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and सेसे are here introduced by a silent reference to sūtra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prākṛit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sūtra I, 259, where he rules that the *v* of *svapna* becomes *m*, but in reality the *p* of *svapna*, having become *v* by silent reference to sūtra I, 231, becomes *m*. That the *p*, not the *v*, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sūtras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sūtra III, 23, but though that sūtra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as parts of a *conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not स *s*, but श् *s*.

Thus C D read *सबलेभ्यो व्यजन* in sūtra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example *द्योतव्य* = *द्योतव*, that is, they make च s to indicate श s, because, according to them, *द्योतव्य* changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into *द्योतव*, whereupon र r is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two, but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan, for with the exception of those two sūtras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sūtra III, 8 पाट् ट, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to चाट् ट. For just as in the previous case *द्योतव्य* becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, *द्योतव*, so here *स्यट्* becomes by the same rule *स्यष्ट*, next च s would be elided. So that, consistently, च s should here have been written to represent य sh. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sūtra पाट् ट is correct, it could not have been spelled शाट् ट, because the sibilant य sh is the only (conjunct) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter is between Chanda and his Revisionists stands thus. Chanda uses श s to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally, hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use श s, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses च s to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but च s, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chanda's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than च) as an indicator in any sūtra, for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but च s, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated, but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS B spells लचौ for लशौ in sūtra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored श s in all sūtras, in which the original plan of Chanda requires it, i e., in III, 2 & 6 2d \*

\* The only two Prakrit Grammarians who, to my knowledge, use a *saṃyā* or sign for the sibilant class are *Trivikrama* and *Subhachandra*. The former uses श sh (T V

Next as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS, the wording of sūtra III, 34 in MSS A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prākṛit language, than the wording of the same sūtra in MSS. C and D, and this circumstance is confirmed by sūtras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sūtra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Samasenī dialect, that is, by the omission of sūtra III, 39a which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Māhārāṣṭrī, a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sūtra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to  $\text{ह}$  (with the exception of  $\text{क ह}$  and  $\text{ख ह}$ ), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sūtras, as they stand in A B, with the same sūtras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc  $\text{द}$  and  $\text{त}$ ), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to  $\text{ह}$ . I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chanda presents a very old phase of the Prākṛit language, and that the MS A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form, but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7), the latter has  $\text{मि}$  (S C I, 1 7). Chanda's *sanyūda*  $\text{म}$   $\text{sa}$  is perhaps somewhat anomalous, for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add  $\text{u}$  or *varga* to a consonant, in order to form a *sanyūda* ( $\text{c g}$ ,  $\text{कु}$  or  $\text{कवग}$  for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chanda's sign may really have been  $\text{मू}$  or  $\text{मि}$ , in sūtra III, 4, MS B reads  $\text{सो}$ , which may be an error for  $\text{सौ}$  ( $\text{शौ}$ ), and  $\text{शौ}$  would be the locative of  $\text{शू}$  or  $\text{मि}$ , see the footnote to translation of sūtra III, 4.



If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chanda's grammar, but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chanda untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prakrit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chanda's rule III, 11 च *th* changes to च *dh*, by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथ *náthah* to change into नाधे *náho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided, by way of illustration we have सुई *sui* for सूचि *suchi*, वाथो *váo* for वात *vátah*, नेउर *newram* for नूपुर *núpuram*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar\*. It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies, and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS, especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself†.

\* Another instance is sūtra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*, but one of the examples given is *buddhi* for *buddhi*. Similarly according to sūtras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prakrit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk *bhis* becoming Prák *hi*, the examples, however are *eggih*, *mahúhi* for *aggih*, *mahuh* = Skt *agnibhih*, *madhubhih*. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, I may quote Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa sūtra (p 4), "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Pali is a more archaic language than the Prakrit of the Jains. The fact is true, but it proves nothing. For the form of the Jaina sūtras was fixed only one thousand years after Mahāvira's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sūtras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1) With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following —

*First*—There is (as already noticed on p xi) the direct evidence of sūtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *k* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds

*Second*—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c, shows that, *as a rule*, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided, precisely what Chanda's rules III, 12, 34 indicate

*Third*.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS A and B in a few cases still retain an original न्त् Thus in II, 26 A B read भे छत्त । लया छत्त ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे कत्त । लया छत्त ॥ The copyist, not recognising कत्त as a Prākṛit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into छत्त The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prākṛit form कत्त, but objecting to it on the score of obsolescence, changed it into the correct later Prākṛit form कय This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding कद् (or even कय) in his original, changed it into छत्त On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress That, however, is nothing to be wondered at To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text

*Fourth*—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D, it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e g*, कत्त into कय, than कद्, for though कत्त could not possibly have been later Prākṛit, कद् might have been so If they had found कद् or अच्च्दि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prākṛit is not altogether unknown, but if they found कत्त or अच्च्त्ति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कय and अच्च्द्, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day

*Fifth*—Chanda's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability, some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so, but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory, it enjoins the change of न्त् to ण्त्, but as a matter of fact, an initial न्त् never changes to ण्त्, and even a medial न्त् does so only in comparatively exceptional cases The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact, but as it is a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

\* of those who handed down the sūtras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17.

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional \* The case of rule III, 12 is similar, it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क l to ग g was a comparatively exceptional occurrence, on the other hand the change of ट t to ड d must have been comparatively constant It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त t to द d, and of प p to व v, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations, and for the reasons given under Nos 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, & c, as a rule त t and प p were retained On the other hand, the retention of क k must have been comparatively exceptional, as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग g

*Sixth*—In sūtra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations Among the substitutes of *vat* “like”, there is also mentioned *jahā* Now *jahā* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathā* If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a *suid* aspirated य th to ह h, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahā* for particular notice But if य th at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to घ dh, then *jahā* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice The Revisionists when remodelling Chanda’s grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every th to h, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jaha* to remain in the sūtra Not so Hemachandra, he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sūtra into his grammar (see II C II, 182), omitted *jaha* †

There is, in sūtra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chanda the *suid* unaspirates were not usually subject to elision In that sūtra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* “thus” changes in Prākṛit to *iya* If it had been usual at that time to elide all *suid* unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sūtra than that the

\* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chanda’s Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chanda and his Revisionists

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandria in his grammar (see H C I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial त *t*, accordingly, seeing that Chanda's sūtra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chanda's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chanda's sūtra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sūtras,<sup>\*</sup> yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

*Seventh*—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chanda spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vaiyāruhi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (त) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (व). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chanda, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chanda which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (त), among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once †. Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases, among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to व) ‡. But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

\* These are, strictly speaking, only sūtras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sūtras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS, thus, of B in sūtra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softennings are, कद in the special sūtra III, 11 and हवदि in the Māgadhī sūtra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sūtra. The retention is in पलातं in sūtra I, 23. A retains त in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26 III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23 II, 26 III, 9 23 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेउर, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case, perhaps already existing in Chanda's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेवुर in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss), though it has नेउर in III, 34. In one case (पुनर अपि II, 10) D retains प, so also A once (रूप I, 17), these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain ठ (I, 3 पोट). [N B—पुणरवि in the Text, p 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sūtra (compare the terms of sūtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sūtra in the Text), and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sūtra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sūtra III, 22 (from पवयोर् वत्सात् to पवयोर् वः) and inserted an altogether new sūtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sūtras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists, compare H C I, 177, 231, and Vr II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sūtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sūtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sūtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *lh* in sūtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sūtra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*, thus, in the examples of sūtra III, 11, they change both *य th* and *व lh* to *व h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *lh* in sūtra III, 13 is superfluous, accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it, they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sūtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sūtra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order, compare H C I, 187, 236 and Vr II, 27, 26.

(2) Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in sūtra I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumbhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sūtra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe*, but in sūtra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe*. Chanda cannot possibly have written the same word in both sūtras, that would be contrary to the whole genius of sūtra-writing, if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one sūtra *tubbhe* (or *tumbhe*) *jassasoh*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS A and B the conjuncts *mbh*, *bhh* and *yyh* are perpetually confused, the two symbols *भ* or *भ\** being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells *सिभ* for

\* Once or twice also *भ* and *भ*, these are clearly only due to careless writing.

चिन्ता III, 2, जिम्मा for जित्मा III, 1, वक्त्रो for वज्जो III, 20, सम्भावं for सम्भाव III, 8, सक्क for सज्ज I, 30 There is a simple explanation for this confusion In the Jaina Prākṛit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them \* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS A and B were copied from an original MS written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sūtras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nāgarī symbol Since however the two sūtras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols The question is, which were they, from among the three As to sūtra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy, it must have contained the symbol for *bbh* For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sūtra I, 22 (and also in I, 3 where the word re-occurs) On this point C and D may be trusted, the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters, the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing, and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bbh* with those for *jjh* or *mbh* The case is more complicated as to sūtra I, 21 Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading Yet indirectly their reading *tumhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tuyhe* should have done so Even at the present day *mh* and *mbh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars In Hindi, *e g*, *thāmhar* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhar* For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbbe* in I, 22

(3) For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *z* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanda are correct, it would follow that his Prākṛit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pālī This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanda's Prākṛit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pālī It agrees

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generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sūtra (compare the terms of sūtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sūtra in the Text), and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (व) notwithstanding the revised terms of sūtra III, 31, they further altered the terms of sūtra III, 22 (from ववयोर् व्) to ववयोर् व्) and inserted an altogether new sūtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sūtras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists compare H C I 177, 231 and Vr II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sūtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sūtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sūtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *lh* in sūtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sūtra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*, thus, in the examples of sūtra III, 11, they change both व *lh* and व *lh* to व *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *lh* in sūtra III, 13 is superfluous accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it, they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sūtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sūtra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order, compare H C I, 157, 236 and Vr II, 27, 26.

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with Pāli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate, but it differs from Pāli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates, the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chanda's Prākṛit represents an older phonetic stage than even Pāli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *ā*, *ī* and *ū*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chanda's Prākṛit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Pāli as well as the later Prākṛit shorten it, e.g., Skt. and Ch. *gaṅgām*, but Pā. and Pr. *gaṅgam*, Skr. *naīm*, Ch. *naīm*, but Pā. *naḍim*, Pr. *naḍm*, Skr. *mām* "me", Ch. *mam*, but Pā. *mam*, Pr. *mam*. Both Vaiṣaruchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prākṛit (see Vr V, 21 H C III, 36), so also Kachchayana for the Pāli (see Kach II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chanda, a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3\*.

It may now be asked, what language this old Prākṛit of Chanda may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Ārśham* of Hemachandra (H C I, 2 IV, 287). By "ārśha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rākṣas*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this *Ārśha* Prākṛit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chanda's rules are only permissive, i.e., they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability, they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Māgadhi Prākṛit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (*porānam*) or *ārśha*

\* The rule Kach II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *ā*, those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chanda's sūtra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *ā*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of O D, who write *gaṅgam* and *tam*, but *naīm*. But it is very improbable that in Chanda's Prākṛit *ī* should have remained long, while *ā* was shortened. Either all three (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *ī* and *ū* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gaṅgam*, *tiām*, for these are due to sandhi (*ganga + am*, *tva + am*).

† *Rākṣham idam ārśham*

‡ H C I, 3 *ārśham pralīyitam bahulam bhavati*

§ H C I, 3 *āshe hi sarve vadhayo vikalyante*

Prākṛit, in common with the Arddhamāgadhī Prākṛit which it follows, agrees with the Māgadhī in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the Arddhamāgadhī, the phrase *layare āgachchhar* "which of the two has come." The *porāna* or *ārsha* form of it would be, *latare āgachchhatī*\* Now this is the very example, which is given in Chanda's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10, that the nom sing may end in *e*. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statement, that by the term *ārsha* he understands that ancient (*porāna*) form of the Prākṛit language which included what in his day was called the Arddhamāgadhī, and which, while agreeing with the Māgadhī as regards the termination *e* of the nom sing, but differing from it with regard to the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś* (H C 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Māgadhī, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī. Or to put it in another way Arddhamāgadhī is the same as Māhārāṣṭrī in all respects, except the nom. sing in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Māgadhī, on the other hand Māgadhī is identical with Arddhamāgadhī in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar to the former. If we now substitute the short name *Ārsha* in the place of Arddhamāgadhī *plus* Māhārāṣṭrī (of which jointly the *Ārsha* is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chanda's Grammar. He speaks of four Prākṛits, *viz*, the Prākṛit, the Māgadhī, the Pāṣāṇicī and the Apabhraṃsa. He omits all mention of the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurasenī, further his rules on *the* Prākṛit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, with the addition however of the nom sing in *e*, while he makes his Māgadhī to differ from his Prākṛit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prākṛit of Chanda is the *ārsha* or ancient (*porāna*) form of the Arddhamāgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurasenī †

\* Hemachandra's words are *yad api "porānam arddhamāgadhābhāṣānīyam hatat suttam" ity ādina ārṣhasya arddhamāgadhābhāṣānīyatatvam āmnāyī vṛddhais tad api prayo 'sya eva vādhānt, na valśhyamānalahṣanasya*, i. e., "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamāgadhī,' that may be also understood of the present rule (*viz* H C 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones." Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine, though the general tenor is the same (See *Kaṭha Sūtra*, p 17) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Māgadhī."

† As a minor evidence of Chanda's Prākṛit being the *Ārsha*, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chanda's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into *Ārdhamāgadhī*, *Mahārāṣṭrī* and *Sauraseni* probably did not yet exist, but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) *Prākṛit*. By the side of this great or standard *Prākṛit*, however, there existed two other *Prākṛits* of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard *Prākṛit*, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser *Prākṛits* were the *Māgadhī* and the *Apabhraṃsa*. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively, that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the *Prākṛits* in Chanda's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Asoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol I, p 43 \* "The Inscriptions of Asoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same*† throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of *Pālī* (or *Prākṛit*) in the time of Asoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the *Panjābī* or north-western dialect, the *Ujjenī* or middle dialect, and the *Māgadhī* or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the *Panjābī* or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*", that of the *Māgadhī* or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted" (Corp I I. pp 43, 44.) If we substitute *Apabhraṃsa* for General Cunningham's *Panjābī*, we have almost the very words of Chanda's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

fect, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the *Kṛṣṇa*, are given as ordinary forms by Chanda, e g, *latṭu* II, 19, cf H C II, 146, *suhumam* or *suhāmam* III, 30, cf H C II, 101, 113, etc

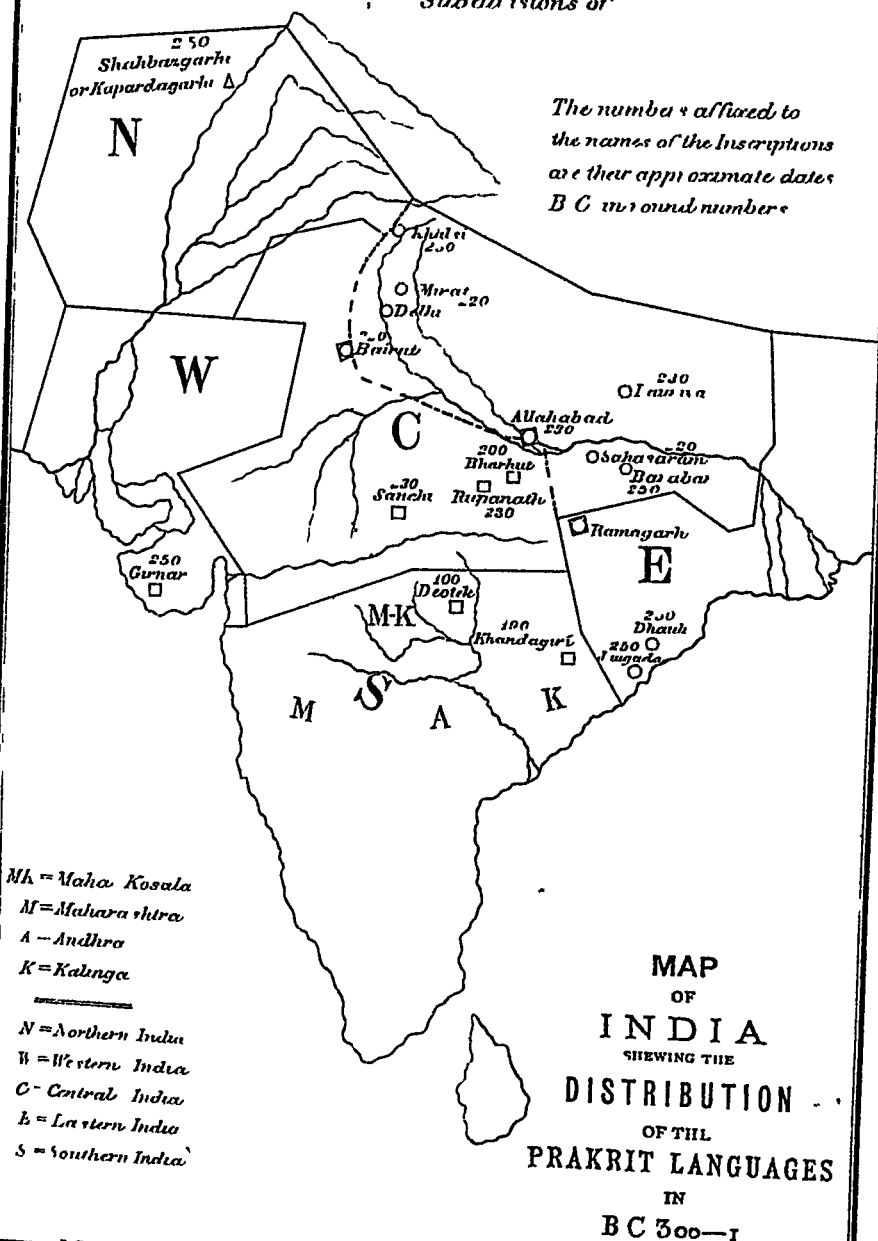
\* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol II, p 221 (quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol II, pp 109, 132)

† The italics in the extract are mine



- Inscriptions with *l* and *r* and *e*  
 ○ *l* *r*  
 □ *r* *e*  
 □ *r* *o*  
 Δ Subjoint *r* *o*  
 ----- Boundary of Eastern and Western Prākrit  
 Subdivisions of

The numbers affixed to  
 the names of the inscriptions  
 are their approximate dates  
 B C in round numbers



posed at a somewhat later time, for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chanda, than in that of the time of Asoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions \*

As to the Paisáchi, mentioned by Chanda in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paisáchi, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prákrit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prákrit languages, named by Chanda. One of the principal peculiarities of the Mágadhi or Eastern Prákrit, mentioned by Chanda, is the substitution of *l* for *r* † This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Muat, Lauriya, Sahasaram, Bairati, Ramagarh, Dhauhi and Jaugada (see Map) ‡ At Bairati, one inscription shows it, the other does not, and the same is the case at Allahabad. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairati, thence eastward to Allahabad and again southward by Ramagarh to Jaugada, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Mágadhi, and the Western or Chanda's Standard Prákrit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prákrit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Mahishashtra, Andhra and Kalunga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhramsha Prákrit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Shalibazgarihi Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chanda to that Prákrit, viz the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chanda mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prákrit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rupanathi show the termination *e*, while

\* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sutra, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chanda's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prákrit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p 19, also p 4). This seems to be indicated by Chanda's sūtra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal *s* for the dental *ś*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence, except one of them at Ramagarh, which has *s* throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I.

those of Gīrnār, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Būrāt, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Māgadhī area, will approximately divide the *o*-area of the Western Prakrit from its *a*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Ārddhamāgadhī Prakrit, because this Prakrit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Māgadhī. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times came to be called, the Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni Prakrits. The Pāṣācī must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chanda and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prakrit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. 117) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chanda's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chanda's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sūtra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idam*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *sim* in the genitive plural, but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*"\*. The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi, because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *sim* to the singular and plural respectively, and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chanda's statement in his sūtra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idam* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural"†. The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chanda. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

\* *Idam-tadōr amāpi se adeyam l aschid vchehhati*, H C III, 81

† *Tadidamoh se shashṭhī-rupaṇam*, Ch I, 17

Hemachandra (compare, e g , Ch II, 6a with H C III, 14, 24) Some old Prākṛit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H C III, 137) \* Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prākṛit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhramsa dialect (compare, e g , Ch II, 27l with H C IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes, whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it † The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sūtra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *ā*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sūtra III, 8 still preserves it But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS D, with its peculiar additions of sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sūtras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8 Two of them, indeed, *viz* , I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch II, 1a and I, 1b But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed Sūtra II, 1b in MS D corresponds to H C I, 8, while II, 1c in MS D corresponds to H C I, 6 That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sūtra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sūtra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sūtra I, 6 On the other hand in MS D, the sūtra II, 1b, <sup>as</sup> it is not preceded by any sūtra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

\* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prākṛit forms in the text of the MS A B makes for the antiquity of the latter For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark

† Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sūtras III, 34 and III, 12 What more natural than to accept sūtra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prākṛit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sūtra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done, (see H C I, 177 and compare the examples) This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place See also the footnote on p xiv



sūtra Thus appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sūtra IV, 353 is found in MS C, but not in MS D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sūtra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy For omitting from D the sutras II, 1a, 1b, 1c which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS D has only *one* sūtra less than MS C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sūtra I, 11a ought to be supplied in D \* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chanda, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chanda The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prākṛit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *n*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them (See remarks on p. xxi) On the other hand the terms of Vr II, 2 as compared with those of Ch III, 34 in MSS A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chanda But as to whether he was acquainted with Chanda's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion On the whole, I should think it improbable



## A SKETCH OF CHANDA'S GRAMMAR, COMPARED WITH THOSE OF VARARUCHI AND HEMACHANDRA 1, VOWELS

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prākṛit But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prākṛit of Chanda

In common with the later, the old Prākṛit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels, *ri* (II, 5), *ai* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14) Nothing is said regarding *ri*, *lri*, *lri*, but they seem to be included in the term *rvarnasya* (II, 5)

\* A similar accidental omission of sūtra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS B

Instead of *i*, either the syllable *i* or any other vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5)

Instead of *ai* either *ai* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *au* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) but not *i*, *i* and *u*, as in later Prākṛit

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prākṛit possesses, there are the following two broad laws

1 *A long vowel (ā, ī, ū) preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened (a, i, u)*, II, 3 Hemachandra's rule, H C I, 84, corresponds to this, Vaiauehi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p 185

2 *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2), e g, *deva + indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Aśha the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda*\* There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vaiauehi or Hemachandra, they apparently did not acknowledge it But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prākṛit, thus in the Bhagavatī occur ~~goparase = Skt. gopapayogah~~, *appuṣṣe* = Skt. *alpotsukah*, *paduppanna* = Skt. *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttaram* = Skt. *saptottaram*, (see Weber's edition, pp 386, 406, 408, 427)

On the other hand the later Prākṛit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (V I, 12, 20 H C I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chanda Thus we have *ginhati* in Ch III, 28 for *genhai* in H C IV, 209

For the rest, *vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges*, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1) It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chanda in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vaiauehi and Hemachandra It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prākṛit

## 2, CONSONANTS

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prākṛit of Chanda differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vaiauehi and Hemachandra

1 The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word This follows from sūtra II, 14

\* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Aśha sentence, *devinda nam abbati* see H C III, 102

when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the uniform spelling of the Prākṛit examples with *n* in MSS A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of *n* to *n* does occur in the older Prākṛit (III, 16). But, the almost general rule of the latter is to follow the Sanskrit usage, to change *n* to *n* only in those cases where the change would occur in Sanskrit under the influence of a preceding (cerebral) *ri*, *r* or *sh*. The Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 42) as well as the practice of the Revisionists exhibits the exact counterpart, *riṣ*, a uniform substitution of the cerebral *n* for the dental *n*. Hemachandra's Prākṛit (the so-called Jaina Prākṛit) exhibits a practice more approaching to that of Chanda, *riṣ*, dental *n* may be preserved when double medial or single initial, but is changed to *n*, when single medial (H C I, 228, 229). Still the difference is marked, and Hemachandra knew it, for he points it out himself \*

2 The preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants, with the only exception of *l* which may be elided. This follows from sūtra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sūtra in C D III, 34. But *t* was not unfrequently, and *t* and *p* were exceptionally, softened to *d*, *d̐*, *ḍ* respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 2) the surd consonants are elided, with the exception that *t* is always (Vr II, 20), and *t* and *p* not unfrequently (Vr II, 7 V, 6 II, 15), softened to *d*, *d̐*, *v* respectively. The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H C I, 177, 195, 231), except that dental *t* is now always elided (H C I, 209), its softening to *d̐* now only surviving in the Saurasēnī and Māgadhī dialects† (H C I, 209, IV, 260, 302). The three successive stages of phonetic decay can be clearly traced, and this explains why the peculiarity of Saurasēnī and Māgadhī in retaining the sonant *d̐* is not noticed by Chanda, it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and the great Prākṛit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that the great Prākṛit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prākṛit dialects, though the long lapse of years has now practically obliterated any difference. In the modern dialects all over North India, there is no appreciable difference in the treatment of *d̐*, perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Māgadhī in retaining *d̐* being preserved in the past participial terminations *il* or *al* in Bangālī, Oriyā, Eastern Hindī and Maīāthī (the nearest representatives of the old Māgadhī), which in all probability are the same as the Māgadhī

\* *Arśhe*, *analam*, *amlo*, *analo*, *iti ady apī*, i e, in the *ārśha* medial *n* is preserved, as also the initial *n* (H C I, 228).

† I leave here aside the curious rule of Hemachandra with reference to the *Apabhramsa* (H C IV, 306). It refers to an ancient kind of *Apabhramsa*, as I shall show in the footnotes to the English Translation.

termination *ida* (Sanskrit *ida*), see the introductory remarks in my *Comparative Grammar*, also *ibid*, §§ 109, 306, pp 62, 139

3 The preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants, with the only exception of *ḷh* which may be reduced to *ṣ*. But *ḷh* was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to *dh*, etc. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi, only *chh* is preserved, but *ḷh* is always, and *ph* generally, softened to *dh* and *hh* respectively (Vr II, 24, 26), while *ḷh* and *th* are always reduced to *h* (Vr II, 27). The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (II C III, 187, 199), except that *ph* may now be either softened to *bh* or (more usually) reduced to *h* (H C I, 236). Here again the softening of *th* to *dh* only survives in the Śauraseni and Māgadhī dialects (Vr XII, 3 II C IV, 267, 302). The phonetic parallelism between this and the preceding case will not fail to be observed.

4 The preservation of the single medial semi-consonants *y* and *v*. This follows from a comparison of sūtra III, 31 with its terms as revised in C D III, 31. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *y* was always and *v* commonly elided (Vr II, 2 II C I, 177). In those cases where Hemachandra seems to have preserved *y*, it is really not the semi-consonant which has been retained, but the semivowel *y* (see No 5) which has been inserted.

5 The insertion of the semivowel *y* to fill up the hiatus whenever the second vowel is *a* (III, 35). This is the so-called *ya-sruti*, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180). According to him, however, both vowels must be *a*. Vararuchi's Prākṛit knows nothing of this usage. It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prākṛit, but the degree of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prākṛit. It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prākṛit.

In all other respects there is no difference between the older Prākṛit and that of the later Grammarians.

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not possess are the guttural *ṣ*, the palatal *ṣ* *ṣ* *ṣ* (II, 11), the palatal *ṣ* *ṣ* and the cerebral *ṣ* *ṣ* (III, 18). Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two *ṣ* *ṣ* in conjunction with their own class. To Chanda this practice appears to have been not unknown, as sūtra II, 15 would indirectly seem to show. However, there can be but little doubt, that this was only an orthographic, and not a phonetic question, the class-*ṣ* *ṣ* was probably always pronounced (just as it is now, in the modern Gaudians), though it might be written in either way, by its own proper symbol or by the anusvāra. Nevertheless, though that is the theoretical rule of the grammars (even now), practically the class-nasal is never written, but always the anusvāra.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prākṛit possesses, are subject to the following laws

### a, *Single Consonants*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvāra or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11 III, 38) In Vaiaaruchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sūtras (V<sub>1</sub> IV, 6—12 H C I, 11—24)

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26)

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13)

4, Initial *g* is once (in *ghaṭam*) said to become *gh* (III, 20)

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*gn̄*), it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *d* sometimes changes to *l* (III, 21) Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon, see C D III, 21 Vr. II, 23. H C I, 202

7, *n* changes to *ṇ* in Paisācī (III, 38)

8, Dental consonants (incl *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16) [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*ty*, *dy*, *sth*, etc) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16), once (in *khambho*) such a *th* becomes *lh* (III, 19)]

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21)

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15), except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17) Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No 4, p xxvii), except in the passive where it is changed to *ṣ* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *e* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31) [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)] In *teraḥa* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22), but the same word is explained differently in III, 31

11, *r* remains unchanged, excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *n* (III, 18, 20) These exceptions, however, can be explained differently In the Paisācī and Māgadhī dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39)

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No 4, p xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31) Once (in *rukḥho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22)

13, *s* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *h* (III, 14) In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to *s* (III, 39) [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *sh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *hh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)]

14, *h* remains unchanged, excepting one case (*gharam*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19) [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)]

### b, *Conjunct Consonants*

In the treatment of these the older Prákrit is altogether in accord with the later They may be dealt with in two ways —

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27)

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26), and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29)

With regard to elision Chanda's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see V I III, 9—66 H C II, 1—115), but Chanda strictly carries out the theory of elision For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl nasals), sibilants Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, etc in the Apabhramsa III, 37), *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*, *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9), *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9), *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1), the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3), lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *sh*, *sp*, *shn*, *sn*, *sn*, *sm*, *shm*, etc) This is his principle of elision But his principle of arranging the sūtras is the order of the letters in the alphabet He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2), next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8), and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9) The six sūtras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct First Chanda gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8)

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (*s* or *śh*), it is *ipso facto* (i.e. by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp ix, x) The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside *ṣ* and *ṣh*) which do not exist in Prākṛit

It may be well to illustrate Chanda's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakṣmī*, *śhnam*, *spashtam*, *sthītaḥ*, *vidyā*, *jihvā*, *vāhyaḥ* Here *lakṣmī* first becomes *lakṣhī* (by III, 6), then *lashī* (III, 4) or *lasī* (III, 18), next *lachhī* (III, 14), finally *lachchhī* (III, 24, 26) *Kṛṣṇam* becomes first *kṛnam* (III, 6) or *kanam* (II, 5), and then *lanham* (III, 28) *SPASHTAM* becomes first *pashtam* (III, 3) or *pushtam* (II, 4), then *phushtam* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭam* (III, 8), or *pushtam* may become *puṭam* (III, 8), then *puṭham* (III, 11), finally *putṭham* (III, 24, 26) *STHITAH* becomes first *thītaḥ* (III, 3), then *thītaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *thītao* (II, 10), finally *thīto* (II, 1) *VIDYĀ* first becomes *vidā* (III, 5), then *vījā* (III, 16), finally *vijjā* (III, 24, 27) *JIHVA* becomes first *jihā* (III, 1), then *jibhā* (III, 21), finally *jibbhā* (III, 24, 26) *VAHYAH* becomes first *vāhah* (III, 1), then *vājhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vājghaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vajghaḥ* (II, 3), next *vajghao* (II, 10), finally *vajgho* (II, 1)

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chanda's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherency

### 3, ANUSVĀRA

The anusvāra is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prākṛit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H C I, 23—30 V, 12—17) It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit, but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15), or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

#### 4, VISARGA

The visarga in the older Prākṛit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *i*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e.g.*, in the nominative singular, that to *i* in *punarapi* (compare H C II, 179).

#### 5, NOUNS

The older Prākṛit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2), but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).<sup>\*</sup> The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns

|          |  |        |  |
|----------|--|--------|--|
| Singular | Nom <i>o, e</i> (II, 10) or—                         | Plural | — (I, 11) or <i>no</i> (I, 12)               |
|          | Acc <i>am</i> (I, 3)                                 |        | <i>e</i> or — (I, 11, 15), <i>no</i> (I, 12) |
|          | Intr <i>ina</i> or <i>ná</i> (I, 8)                  |        | <i>hi</i> ( <i>hiṃ</i> ) (I, 7)              |
|          | Abl <i>á, to, tu, hinto</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 12, 16) |        | <i>hinto</i> (I, 8)                          |
|          | Gen <i>ssa</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 13)                  |        | <i>na, ha</i> ( <i>naṃ, haṃ</i> ) (I, 5)     |
|          | Loc <i>e, mmi</i> (I, 14)                            |        | <i>su</i> ( <i>suṃ</i> ) (I, 3)              |

*N B*—The forms given after “or” belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom, inst, abl singular and acc plural and *e* of the loc sing which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing and voc plur are nowhere noticed by Chanda, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prākṛit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the inst, abl, gen and loc sing, where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom and acc plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom and acc plural, where they add the suffix *ni* (I, 3).

*N B*—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chanda indicates by the term *lingāt parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

<sup>\*</sup> It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of C D that they insert the word *sapta* “seven” in the commentary to sūtra I, 3. Chanda had very properly omitted it, as sūtra II, 13 shows that Prākṛit has only six cases.



In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3 II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4) Thus in the acc. sing *deva* + *am* = *devam* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggam* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenum* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p 3), nom sing *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1), *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1), inst sg *deva* + *ina* = *devena* (II, 1), *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhie* (II, 4), loc sg *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1), nom acc plur *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhio* (II, 4), inst pl *deva* + *hi* = *devehi* (II, 4), loc plur *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chanda's nominal declension

Prākṛit has only three declensions, viz those ending in *a* (or feminine *ā*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *ī* and *ū*) Nouns ending in *ī* or *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e g, I, 9), but masculines in *ī* and *ū* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chanda Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11) Nouns originally ending in *ri* are nowhere noticed by Chanda, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ri* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *āra*, as in Pāli and the later Prākṛit There is one exceptional declension, viz. that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16)

#### a, Declension in *a*

The nom sing ends in *o* or *e* masc, e g, *devo* or *deve*, *ā* fem, e g, *gangā*, *am* neut, e g, *lulam*

The acc sing ends in *am* masc and neut, e g, *devam*, *lulam*, *ām* fem, e g, *gangām*

The instr sing ends in *ena* masc and neut, e g, *devena*, *lulena*, *āe* fem, e g, *gangāe*

The abl sing ends in *ā* or *āto* or *ātu* or *āhinto* masc and neut., e g, *devā* or *devāto* or *devātu* or *devāhinto*, *lulā*, etc, *āe* fem, e g, *gangae*. To these forms may be added the abl made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *tah*) It is not noticed by Chanda, because it is not technically a declensional form For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p 116) But its existence in the Aśha is guaranteed by its existence in Pali, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prākṛit (H C III, 8), also by the existence in the Aśha itself of the pronominal forms *matto*, *tatto* (I, 24, 28)

The gen sing ends in *assa* masc and neut, e g, *devassa* Curiously enough the genitive sing of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be inductively taught by sutra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists, and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chanda Fem *de*, e g, *ganqúe*

The loc sing ends in *e* or *ammí* masc. and neut, e g, *deve* or *devammí*, *kule* or *kulammí*, *de* fem, e g, *gangúe*

The nom plur ends in *á* masc, e g, *deidá*, *áo* or *áú* or *á* fem, e g, *gangáo*, *gangáu*, *gangá*, neut *áni* or *áni*, e g, *kulaní* or *kuláni*.

The acc plur ends in *e* masc, e g *deie*, *áo* or *áú* or *á* fem, e g, *gangáo*, *gangáu*, *gangá*, *áni* or *áni* neut, e g, *kulaní* or *kuláni*

The instr. plur ends in *chi* or *chím* (II, 15) masc and neut, e g, *devehi*, or *deichim*, *kulehi* or *kulchím*, *áhi* or *áhím* fem, e g, *gangáhi* or *gangahím*

The gen plur. ends in *ána* or *áha* or *ánam* or *áham* (II, 15), e g, *devána* or *deváha* or *devánam* or *deváham*, *gangána*, etc, *kulána*, etc

The loc plur ends in *esu* or *esum* (II, 15) masc and neut, e g, *devesu* or *decesum*, *kulesu* or *kulesum*, *ásu* or *ásum* fem, e g, *gangásu* or *gangasum*

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Inter Prákrit or Arddha-Mágadhí forms for purposes of comparison

#### Masculines in *a*

| Case     | Sanskrit | Páli.             | Aśha                | Prákrit *           |
|----------|----------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Sing Nom | देव      | देवो              | देवो or देवे        | देवो or देवे†       |
| Voc      | दे देव   | दे देव            | दे देव or दे देवो   | दे देव or दे देवो   |
| Acc      | देवं     | देव               | देव                 | देव                 |
| Instr    | देवेन    | देवेन             | देवेण               | देवेण               |
| Abl      | देवात्   | देवा              | देवा                | देवा                |
|          | देवतः    | देवतो             | देवतो               | देवतो               |
|          | —        | देवन्तो or •वन्तो | देवात्तो or •वात्तो | देवात्तो or •वात्तो |
| Gen      | देवस्य   | देवस्स            | देवस्स              | देवस्स              |
| Loc      | { देवे   | देवे              | देवे                | देवे                |
|          | { —      | देवन्दि or •वन्दि | देवन्दि             | देवन्दि             |
| Plur Nom | { देवाः  | देवा              | देवा                | देवा                |
| Voc      | { —      | देवा              | देवा                | देवा                |

\* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar

† Arddha-Mágadhí, see II. C IV, 287

| Case  | Sanskrit | Pāli             | Āśha           | Prākṛit              |
|-------|----------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Acc   | देवान्   | देवे             | देवे           | देवा or देवे         |
| Instr | देवै.    | देवेभि or देवेहि | देवेहि or °हिं | देवहि or हिं or °हिं |
| Abl   | देवेभ्यः | देवेभि or हि     | देवेहितो       | देवेहितो or °सुतो    |
|       | —        | —                | —              | देवाहितो or °सुतो    |
| Gen   | देवाना   | देवान            | देवाण or देवाण | देवाण or देवाण       |
|       | —        | —                | देवाह or °ह    | देवाह or °ह          |
| Loc   | देवेषु   | देवेसु           | देवेसु or °सु  | देवेसु or °सु        |

## Feminines in ā

| Case      | Sanskrit | Pāli                  | Ārsha         | Prākṛit              |
|-----------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Sing Nom  | गगा      | गगा                   | गगा           | गगा                  |
| Voc       | गगे      | गगे                   | गगा or गगे    | गगा or गगे           |
| Acc       | गगा      | गग                    | गगा           | गगं                  |
| Instr     | गगया     | गगाय<br>(or loc गगाय) | गगाए          | गगाए or °इ or °अ*    |
| Abl       | गगाया    |                       |               |                      |
| Gen       |          |                       |               |                      |
| Loc       |          |                       |               |                      |
| Plur. Nom | गगाः     | गगा                   | गगा           | गगा                  |
| Voc       |          | गगायो                 | गगाओ or गगाउ  | गगाओ or गगाउ         |
| Acc       |          |                       |               |                      |
| Instr     | गगाभिः   | गंगामि or गगाहि       | गगाहि or हि   | गगाहि or °हि or °हिं |
| Abl       | गगाभ्यः  | गगामि or गगाहि        | गगाहितो       | गगाहितो or °सुतो     |
| Gen       | गगाना    | गंगानं                | गगाण or गगाण  | गगाण or गगाण         |
|           | —        | —                     | गगाह or °ह    | गगाह or °ह           |
| Loc       | गगासु    | गगासु                 | गंगासु or °सु | गगासु or °सु         |

\* Or abl. = abl. masc, exc. the forms in ā and āhi, see H O III, 126, 127

Neuters in *a*

| Case     | Sanskrit | Pāli           | Aśha.         | Prākṛit                |
|----------|----------|----------------|---------------|------------------------|
| Sing Nom | कुलं     | कुल            | कुलं          | कुलं                   |
| Acc      |          |                |               |                        |
| Voc      | कुल      | कुल            | कुल           | कुल                    |
| Plur Nom | कुलानि   | कुलानि or कुला | कुलानि or ०णि | कुलाणि or ०लाइ or ०लाई |
| Voc      |          |                |               |                        |
| Acc      |          |                |               |                        |

The remainder like masc. in *a*

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis*, thus —

The nom sing ends in *i* and *u*, e. g, masc *aggi*, *guru*, fem *buddhi*, *dhenu*, neut *dahi*, *mahu*

The acc sing ends in *im* and *um*, e. g, masc *aggim*, *guruṃ*, fem. *buddhim*, *dhenum*, neut. *dahim*, *mahum*

The insti sing ends in *inā* and *unā* masc and neut, e. g, *agginā*, *guruṇa* and *dahinā*, *mahunā*, *ie* and *ie* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The abl sing. ends in *ino* and *uno* masc. and neut, e. g, *aggino*, *guruno* and *dahino*, *mahuno*, *ie* and *ie* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē* There is also the quasi-abl in *ito* and *uto*, e. g, *aggito*, *guruṭo*, etc

The gen sing ends in *ino* or *issa* and *uno* or *ussa* masc and neut, e. g, *aggino* or *aggissa*, *guruno* or *guruṣsa* and *dahino* or *dahissa*, *mahuno* or *mahuṣsa*, *ie* and *ie* fem., e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The loc sing ends in *immi* and *ummi* masc and neut., e. g, *aggimmi*, *gurummi* and *dahimmi*, *mahummi*, *ie* and *ie* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The nom. and acc pluri end in *ayo* or *i* or *ino* and *avo* or *u* or *uno* masc, e. g, *aggayo* or *aggi* or *aggino*, *guravo* or *guru* or *guruṇo*, *i* or *io* or *iu* and *u* or *uo* or *iu* fem, e. g, *buddhi* or *buddhiō* or *buddhiu*, *dhenū* or *dhenūo* or *dhenūu* The neuter is not noticed, probably *ini* and *uni*, e. g, *dahini*, *mahini*, or possibly like the masculine, *dahi* or *dahino*, *mahi* or *mahuno* The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chanda, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayah*, *avah*, and would come under his general rule I, 3 Their existence is guaranteed by the Pāli on the one side, and the later Prākṛit on the other (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom and acc form in *io* and *uo*, which is the same as *ayo* and *avo*, with *ay*, *av* contracted to *i*, *u* respectively)

The instr plur ends in *ihī* or *ihīm*, and *uhī* or *uhīm*, e g, masc *aggihī* or *aggihīm*, *guruhi* or *guruhīm*, fem *buddhihi* or *buddhihīm*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhīm*, neut *dahihī* or *dahihīm*, *mahuhī* or *mahuhīm*

The abl plur ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*, e g, masc *aggihinto*, *guru-hinto*, fem *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*, neut *dahihinto*, *mahuhinto*

The gen plur ends in *ina* or *iha* or *inam* or *iham*, and *ūna* or *ūha* or *ūnam* or *ūham*, e g, masc *aggina* or *agginam* or *aggiha* or *aggiham*, *gūina* or *gūinam* or *gūrīha* or *gūrīham*, fem *buddhina* or *buddhiha*, etc, *dhenūna* or *dhenūha*, etc, neut *dahina* or *dahiha*, etc, *mahina* or *mahiha*, etc

The loc plur ends in *isu* or *isum* and *usu* or *usum*, masc *aggisu* or *aggisum*, *gurusu* or *gurusum*, fem *buddhisu* or *buddhisum*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusum*, neut *dahisu* or *dahisum*, *mahusu* or *mahusum*

To the voc sing and plur the same remark applies as to the voc of the *a*-declension

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS, regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four

(1) In sūtra I, 3 all MSS make the termination of the nom sing of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *ī* and *ū*. This is almost certainly false, for (a) even in the later Prākṛit of Vṛaruchi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom sing neuter ends in short *i* and *u*, and (b) what is more important, there is no sūtra in Chanda's grammar to account for the long *ī* and *ū* of the nom sing, as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension that Chanda enumerates in sūtra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*samskr̥itavad vibhaktayah*), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Now by sūtra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *ih* or *uh* is omitted, but there is no sūtra anywhere in Chanda to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chanda's Prākṛit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sūtra II, 5 there occurs the word *rishih*, the Prākṛit form of which in all MSS is given as *isi* (not *isī*), again in that very sūtra II, 10 one example is *ati*, as all MSS read, for Skr *vr̥tīh*\*, again in sūtra II, 17 we have *matī* and *gatī*, with all MSS (exc B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Pāli, which Chanda's Prākṛit resembles in so many

\* Not = Skr *patih*, as O D have it, but = Skr *vr̥tīh*

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth, for there the nom. sing also ends in *z* and *u* (see Minayef, pp 64, 66, 69) Accordingly I have restored the short *z* and *u* in the nom sing throughout

(2) It is very similar with the instr, abl, and loc plural Here all MSS read long *ī* and *ū* before the suffixes *hi*, *hinto* and *su* But as Chanda has no sūtra to enjoin the lengthening of *z* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prākṛit they were not long, as in the later Prākṛit, but short, as (optionally) in Pāli (see Minayef *ibid*, also Kuhn, pp 79, 81, 82) The fact that Chanda places the forms of the instr and loc plural under sūtra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction, and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl plural from sūtra I, 3 Suppose, e g, that *aggīhi*, *aggihinto* and *aggīsu* be correct forms, if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sūtra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *ī*, but let the forms be *aggīh*, *aggihinto*, *aggīsu*, then only *aggihinto* is unlike Skr *agnibhyah*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggīhi* is like Skr *agnibhih* (*h* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggīsu* like Skr *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18), hence these two forms will come under I, 3 This is precisely what we find Chanda to have actually done, it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been Accordingly I have restored the short *z* throughout in those three cases \*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *z* and *u* are really lengthened to *ī* and *ū* in Chanda's Prākṛit, as in the instr, abl, gen and loc singular and nom and acc plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chanda, by sūtra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhīe*, *dhenūe* (not *buddhie*, *dhenue*)

(3) The acc singular of feminine nouns in *ī* and *ū*, as well as of feminine nouns in *ā*, has a long termination, thus *gangām*, *naīm*, *vaīm* The MSS, on the whole, are decisive on this point For though C and D read *gangam* in I, 3, B reads *gangām* (A omits it), on the other hand C and D read *naīm* in I, 3 (A B omit it) This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prākṛit, but even Pāli (see Minayef, pp 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chanda were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prākṛit, and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chanda enumerates them under

\* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS D the short *z* and *u* occur three times, viz. *buddhiim*, *gumuhim* in I, 3 and *guruhinto* in I, 8 They may be mere clerical errors.

sūtra I, 3, makes in the same direction, for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sūtra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sūtra II, 16, where Chanda gives the declension of the noun *gāvi* "cow", the two MSS C D again read *gāvīm* in the acc sing (A B omit it), this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc sing *tvām* or *tām* and *mām* (see remarks, p xlv.)

(4) All MSS assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*, thus *aggie*, *gurur*. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sūtra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms

Masculines in *i*

| Case     | Sanskrit | Pāli                 | Āśīka           | Prākṛit             |
|----------|----------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Sing Nom | अग्नि    | अग्नि                | अग्नि           | अग्नी               |
| Voc      | अग्ने    | अग्नि                | अग्नि           | अग्नी or अग्नि      |
| Acc      | अग्नि    | अग्नि                | अग्नि           | अग्नि               |
| Instr    | अग्निना  | अग्निना              | अग्निणा         | अग्निणा             |
| Abl      | अग्ने    | अग्निना              | अग्निणे         | अग्निणे             |
|          |          | अग्निस्त्रा or ०न्हा | —               | अग्नीहितो           |
|          | अग्निता  | अग्निता              | अग्निता         | अग्निता             |
| Gen      | अग्ने    | अग्निनो or ०स्स      | अग्निणो or ०स्स | अग्निणो 01 अग्निस्स |
| Loc      | अग्नी    | अग्निस्मि 01 ०न्दि   | अग्निस्मि       | अग्निस्मि           |
| Plur Nom | अग्नय    | अग्नयो               | अग्नयो          | अग्नीयो or अग्नीउ   |
|          | —        | अग्नी                | अग्नी           | अग्नी               |
|          | —        | —                    | अग्निणो         | अग्निणो             |
| Acc      | अग्नीन्  | like nom             | like nom        | like nom            |
| Instr    | अग्निभि  | अग्निभि 01 ०दि       | अग्निदि 01 ०दि  | —                   |
|          |          | अग्नीभि or ०दि       | —               | अग्नीदि 01 ०दि      |

| Case | Sanskrit | Pāli           | Ārsha          | Prākṛit            |
|------|----------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Abl  | अग्निभ्य | अग्निमि or °हि | अग्निहितो      | —                  |
|      |          | अग्नीमि or °हि | —              | अग्नीहितो or °सुतो |
| Gen  | अग्नीना  | अग्नीन         | अग्नीणं or °ण  | अग्नीण or °ण       |
|      |          |                | अग्नीह or °ह   | (deest)*           |
| Loc  | अग्निषु  | अग्निषु        | अग्निषु or °सु | —                  |
|      |          | अग्नीसु        | —              | अग्नीसु or °सु     |

## Feminiues in २

| Case.    | Sanskrit                | Pāli   | Ārsha               | Prākṛit                                     |
|----------|-------------------------|--|---------------------|---|
| Sing Nom | बुद्धिः                 | बुद्धि   | बुद्धि              | बुद्धी                                      |
| Voc      | बुद्धे                  | बुद्धि   | बुद्धि              | बुद्धि or बुद्धी                            |
| Acc      | बुद्धि                  | बुद्धि   | बुद्धि              | बुद्धि                                      |
| Instr    | बुद्ध्या                | बुद्धिया<br>(abl loc also<br>बुद्ध्या, loc बुद्धिय,<br>बुद्ध्या, बुद्धि, बुद्धो) | बुद्धीए             | { बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ<br>बुद्धीया or बुद्धीय |
| Abl      | बुद्ध्याः or            |  |                     |   |
| Gen.     | बुद्धेः                 |  |                     |   |
| Loc      | { बुद्ध्या or<br>बुद्धौ |  |                     |   |
| Plur Nom | { बुद्ध्य.              | बुद्धी   | बुद्धी              | बुद्धी                                      |
| Voc      |                         | बुद्धियो   | बुद्धीयो or बुद्धीउ | बुद्धीयो or बुद्धीउ                         |
| Acc      | बुद्धीः                 | like nom   | like nom            | like nom                                    |
| Instr    | बुद्धिभिः               | बुद्धिमि or °हि  | बुद्धिहि or °हि     | —   |
|          |                         | बुद्धीमि or °हि  | —                   | बुद्धीहि or °हि                             |
| Abl      | बुद्धिभ्यः              | बुद्धिमि or °हि  | बुद्धिहितो          | —   |
|          |                         | बुद्धीमि or °हि  | —                   | बुद्धीहितो or °सुता                         |
| Gen.     | बुद्धीना                | बुद्धीनं   | बुद्धीण or °ण       | बुद्धीण or °ण                               |
|          |                         |  | बुद्धीहं or °ह      | (deest)*                                    |



| Case | Sanskrit | Páli                   | Ārsha                | Prākṛit                |
|------|----------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Loc  | बुद्धिषु | बुद्धिस्स<br>बुद्धीस्स | बुद्धिस्स or सु<br>— | —<br>बुद्धीस्स or ०सुं |

## Neuters in ३

| Case     | Sanskrit | Páli         | Ārsha         | Prākṛit                              |
|----------|----------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sing Nom | दधि      | दधि          | दहि (acc दहि) | दहि or दहि or दहिं<br>(voc only दहि) |
| Plur do  | दधीनि    | दधी or दधीनि | दहीनि or ०णि  | दहीणि or दहीइ<br>or दहीई             |

The remainder, like masculines in ३

## Masculines in ३

| Case     | Sanskrit | Pāli              | Ārsha    | Prākṛit               |
|----------|----------|-------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| Sing Nom | गुरु     | गुरु              | गुरु     | गुरु                  |
| Voc      | गुरो     | गुरु              | गुरु     | गुरु or गुरु          |
| Acc      | गुरुं    | गुरु              | गुरुं    | गुरु                  |
| Instr    | गुरुणा   | गुरुणा            | गुरुणा   | गुरुणा                |
| Abl      | गुरो.    | गुरुणा            | गुरुणो   | गुरुणो                |
|          |          | गुरुस्मा or ०न्हा | —        | गुरुक्षितो            |
|          | गुरुत    | गुरुतो            | गुरुतो   | गुरुत्तो              |
| Gen      | गुरो     | गुरुणो            | गुरुणो   | गुरुणो                |
|          |          | गुरुस्स           | गुरुस्स  | गुरुस्स               |
| Loc      | गुरौ     | गुरुस्मि or ०न्दि | गुरुस्मि | गुरुस्मि              |
| Plur Nom | गुरुव    | गुरुवो            | गुरुवो   | गुरुवो or गुरुओ or ०उ |
| Voc      |          | गुरु              | गुरु     | गुरु                  |
|          |          | गुरुणो*           | गुरुणो   | गुरुणो                |

\* Like अतुनी, see Murray, p 69

| Case  | Sanskrit | Pāli            | Āisha.             | Prākṛit               |
|-------|----------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Instr | गुरुभिः  | गुरुभि or ०दि * | गुरुद्धि 01 ०दिं   | —                     |
|       |          | गुरुभि 01 ०दि   | —                  | गुरुद्धि 01 ०दिं      |
| Abl.  | गुरुभ्यः | गुरुभि or ०दि   | गुरुद्धितो         | —                     |
|       |          | गुरुभि 01 ०दि   | —                  | गुरुद्धितो 01 ०द्धितो |
| Gen.  | गुरुणा   | गुरुणं          | गुरुण 01 गुरुण     | गुरुण or गुरुण        |
|       |          |                 | गुरुद्ध 01 गुरुद्ध | deest†                |
| Loc   | गुरुषु   | गुरुसु          | गुरुसु 01 ०सु      | —                     |
|       |          | गुरुसु          | —                  | गुरुसु 01 ०सुं        |

## Feminines in u.

| Case.          | Sanskrit.       | Pāli          | Āisha.             | Prākṛit                           |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sing Nom.      | घेनुः           | घेनु          | घेनु               | घेणू                              |
| Voc            | घेनो            | घेनु          | घेनु               | घेणु 01 घेणू                      |
| Acc            | घेनुं           | घेनुं         | घेनुं              | घेणु                              |
| Instr          | घेन्वा          | घेनुया        | घेनूर              | घेणूर or घेणूइ<br>घेणूया or घेणूअ |
| Abl }<br>Gen } | घेन्वा or घेनोः |               |                    |                                   |
| Loc            | घेन्वा 01 घेनौ  |               |                    |                                   |
| Plur Nom       | घेनव            | घेनू          | घेनू               | घेणू                              |
| Voc.           |                 | घेनुघो        | घेनूयो or घेनूज    | घेणूयो or घेणूज                   |
| Acc            | घेनू.           | like nom      | like nom           | like nom                          |
| Inst           | घेनुभिः         | घेनुभि or ०दि | घेनुद्धि or ०दि    | —                                 |
|                |                 | घेनूभि 01 ०दि | —                  | घेणूद्धि 01 ०दिं                  |
| Abl            | घेनुभ्यः        | घेनुभि 01 ०दि | घेनुद्धितो         | —                                 |
|                |                 | घेनूभि or ०दि | —                  | घेणूद्धिनो or ०द्धितो             |
| Gen            | घेनूनां         | घेनून         | घेनूण 01 घेनूण     | घेणूण 01 घेणूण                    |
|                |                 |               | घेनूद्ध 01 घेनूद्ध | deest†                            |

\* Like जतुद्धि, see Kuhn, p. 82

† See H C IV, 300

| Case | Sanskrit | Pāli              | Āśha               | Prākṛit            |
|------|----------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Loc  | घेनुपु   | { घेनसु<br>घेनूसु | घेनुसु 01 ०सु<br>— | —<br>घेणूसु 01 ०सु |

Neuters in *u*

| Case     | Sanskrit. | Pāli         | Āśha          | Prākṛit                     |
|----------|-----------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Sing Nom | मधु       | मधु          | मड (acc मड)   | मड or मड or मडँ<br>(voc मड) |
| Plur do  | मधूनि     | मधू or मधूनि | मड्ढनि or ०णि | मड्ढणि or मड्ढ or मड्ढँ     |

The remainder, like masculines in *u*

Masculine nouns in *i* and *ū* are generally declined like those in *z* and *u*, excepting the nom sing which ends in *i* or *ū* respectively.\*

Feminine nouns in *i* and *ū* are declined like those in *z* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *i* and *ū* wherever the latter have short *z* and *u*

Feminines in *z*

| Case       | Sanskrit | Pāli         | Āśha        | Prākṛit.        |
|------------|----------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Sing Nom   | नदी      | नदी          | नई          | नई              |
| Voc        | नदि      | नदि          | नइ          | नइ              |
| Acc        | नदी      | नदि or नदियं | नई          | नइ              |
| Plur Instr | नदीभिः   | नदीभि or ०दि | नईदि or ०दि | नईदि or ०दि     |
| Abl        | नदीभ्यः  | नदीभि or ०दि | नईदितो      | नईदितो or ०सुतो |
| Loc.       | नदीषु    | नदीसु        | नईसु or ०सु | नईसु or नईसु    |

The remainder, as in feminines in *z*

Feminines in *ū*

| Case      | Sanskrit | Pāli | Āśha | Prākṛit |
|-----------|----------|------|------|---------|
| Sing Nom. | वधू      | वधू  | वड्ढ | वड्ढ    |
| Voc       | वधु      | वधु  | वड   | वड      |
| Acc.      | वधू      | वधु  | वड्ढ | वडँ     |

\* Thus *nanī* I, 24, *saśī* III, 18, *savannū* in CD III, 6

| Case      | Sanskrit | Pāli         | Āśha          | Prākṛit           |
|-----------|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Plur Inst | वधूमि.   | वधूमि ० ०दि  | वद्धदि or ०दि | वद्धदि ० ०दि      |
| Abl       | वधूम्यः  | वधूमि or ०दि | वद्धदितो      | वद्धदितो or ०सुतो |
| Loc       | वधूषु    | वधूसु        | वद्धसु ० ०सु  | वद्धसु or ०सु     |

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in *sūtra* II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākṛit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders, viz., *gāvo* masc and *gāvī* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *naī* "river"

| Case     | Sanskrit | Pāli      | Āśha.         | Prākṛit                           |
|----------|----------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sing Nom | (गौ.)    | गावौ*     | गावी          | गावी ० १ गाई†                     |
| Acc      | (गा)     | गावि      | गावी          | गाइ                               |
| Plur Nom | (गाव.)   | गाविद्यो* | गावीद्यो ० ०ड | गावीद्यो† ० १ गाईद्यो<br>० १ गाईड |
| Acc      |          |           |               |                                   |
|          |          | गावौ*     | गावी          | गाई                               |

The remainder, like feminines in *i*

## 6, PRONOUNS

### a, Personal Pronouns

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are *स* and *अहम्* (= Sanskrit *अहम्*), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Pāli, Prākṛit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base, viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *mayyha*. The last two, which occur in the Āśha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Pāli

\* *Gāvi* nom sing in Kuhn, p 85, and *gāvīyo* nom plur in Childers, p 145, and *gāvi* in Kachch II, 1, 23 (Senart, p 44)

† *Gāvi* in II. C. II, 174 and *gāvi* in H. C. I, 158 and *gāvīo* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *mahya*, in Sanskrit In the *Ārsha* these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases, but in the later *Prākṛit* they have a nearly regular declension

The *Ārsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *bhe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27) Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc plural It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*

Declension

| Cases    | Sanskrit | Pāli     | Ārsha. | Prākṛit                   |
|----------|----------|----------|--------|---------------------------|
| Sing Nom | { अह     | अह       | अहं    | अह 01 अहय                 |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | अहि or अम्नि              |
| Acc      | { सा     | सं       | सा     | स                         |
|          | { —      | सस       | —      | सस or मिस, etc            |
| Inst     | { मया    | मया      | मए     | मए or मइ                  |
|          | { —      | —        | मे     | मे 01 मि                  |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | समए, etc.                 |
| Abl      | सत्      | { मया    | मइत्तो | मइत्तो                    |
|          |          | { —      | —      | ससत्तो or समादो, etc.     |
|          |          | { —      | —      | सइत्तो or सइादो, etc      |
|          |          | { —      | —      | मज्झत्तो or मज्झादो, [etc |
| Gen      | { मे     | मे       | मे     | मे, etc                   |
|          | { सस     | सस or मस | सस     | सस                        |
|          | { —      | —        | सइ     | सइ or सइं                 |
|          | { —      | सइं      | सज्झ   | सज्झा 01 सज्झा            |
|          | { —      | अम्ह     | —      | अम्ह 01 अम्ह              |
| Loc      | { मयि    | मयि      | मयि    | मइ, etc                   |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | ससम्भि                    |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | सइम्भि                    |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | सज्झम्भि                  |
|          | { —      | —        | —      | अम्हम्भि                  |

| Case.     | Sanskrit. | Pāli.              | Ārsba           | Prākrit                                 |
|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| Plur Nom. | { वयं     | मयं                | वयं             | वयं                                     |
|           | { —       | अम्हे              | अम्हे           | अम्हे 01 अम्हो or अम्ह                  |
| Acc       | { अस्मान् | अम्हे (01 अम्हाक)  | अम्हे           | अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह                  |
|           | { नः      | नो                 | नो              | णे                                      |
| Instr     | अस्माभिः  | अम्हेमि or ०हि     | अम्हेहि 01 ०हिं | { अम्हेहि or ०हि<br>अम्हाहि or ०हि, etc |
| Abl       | { अस्मात् | अम्हेमि or ०हि     | अम्हेहितो or    | (अम्हेहितो?) 01 ०हुतो                   |
|           |           | —                  | अम्ह चितो       | अम्हाचितो 01 ०हुतो                      |
|           |           | —                  | —               | (ममेहितो?) 01 ०हुतो                     |
|           |           | —                  | —               | ममाहितो or ०हुतो                        |
| Gen       | { नः      | नो                 | नो              | णो or ए                                 |
|           | { अस्माकं | अस्माकं or अम्हाकं | अम्हाण or ०ण    | अम्हाण 01 ण                             |
|           | { —       | —                  | अम्हाहं 01 ०ह   | अम्हाहं                                 |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | ममाणं or ०ण                             |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | महाण 01 ०ण                              |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | मवभाणं 01 ०ण                            |
|           | { —       | अम्ह               | अम्ह            | अम्ह 01 अम्ह                            |
|           | { अम्हासु | अम्हेसु            | अम्हेसु 01 ०सु  | अम्हेसु or अम्हसु                       |
| Loc       | { —       | —                  | —               | ममेसु or ममसु                           |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | महेसु 01 महसु                           |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | मवमेसु or मवमसु ,                       |
|           | { —       | —                  | —               | also अम्हासु 01 ०सु,<br>[etc            |

## b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*) In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively, but in the Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākrit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base

*tu* or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tuyja* or *tubha* or *tumbha*  
The first four are probably modifications of *tva*, and the others, of *tumha*  
The Aīsha possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in  
isolated cases, absent are only *tu*, *tuva*, *tuyha* In the later Prākṛit, however,  
they are capable of almost regular declension

The Aīsha possesses also an indeclinable form *bhe* which may be used  
in any of the six cases (II, 26) Hemachandra confines its use to the  
instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and  
genitive plural (H C III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100)

The second personal pronoun in Chanda's Prākṛit is especially deserving  
of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity.  
I mean the forms of the nom acc and loc sing, which, just as in Pāli,  
may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv* The MSS are on this point  
in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the  
Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prākṛit forms  
This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case The  
readings are the following

A त्वा । मां । त ॥

B त्वा । मा । त । म ॥

C त्वा । मा । तं । म ॥

D त्वा । त । मा । म ॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show.  
The Revisionists, mistaking *tvām* and *mām* for Sanskrit, were naturally  
surprised to miss in A the corresponding form *m*, so they quietly added *m* in  
B and C Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper  
order, they change the latter to *tvam*, *tam*, *mām*, *mam* in D This no doubt  
is the correct order, provided that *tvām* and *mām* are really Sanskrit\* But  
the truth is that they are not Sanskrit Indeed, one of the indications that  
they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C  
On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but Prākṛit,  
it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order,  
moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *mam* The order of the forms  
of the nom plural (*vayam*, *tuhme*, *ahme*) clearly shows Chanda's method  
*Vayam* is a tatsama, *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas, the tatsama form cor-  
responding to *vayam* is *yūyam*, but that does not exist in Prākṛit Chanda's  
method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the  
tadbhava Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

\* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or  
"personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed  
to the second and third, but they begin at the other end Hence with them the second  
personal pronoun always precedes the first Hence the change in D to *tvām tam, mam mam*.

we find that *tvām*, *mām* is the tatsama pair, the tadbhava pair should be *tām*, *mām*, but *mām* is not a tadbhava, hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvām*, *mām*, *tām*. That *tām* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument, if *tām* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mām* would be unaccountable, while if *tām* was the original reading, its change into *tam* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvām* for Sanskrit and *tām* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prākṛit spelling. But if *tvām* is a Prākṛit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tām*, not *tam*. And there is thus to be said for the form *tām*, that it agrees with the general law of Chanda's Piākṛit, of preserving the long termination in the acc singular (see the remarks on p xxxvii). Moreover if *tam* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chanda under sūtra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvām* to be fairly called a *samskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sūtra assigned to it, as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tām* into *tam*. It being thus established, that *tvām* is the tatsama form of the acc singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom and loc singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvām*, *ahām*, the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sūtra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sūtras (e g in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayī*, *mayī*, the tadbhava is *tayī*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *ahām* and *mayī*.

## Declension.

| Case. | Sanskrit | Pāli         | Ārsha      | Piākṛit.      |
|-------|----------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| Nom   | { त्व    | त्वं         | त्व or त   | त or तु       |
|       | { —      | तुव          | तुम        | तुव or तुमं   |
|       | { —      | —            | —          | तुह           |
| Acc.  | { त्वा   | त्व or त     | त्वा or ता | त or तु       |
|       | { —      | तव or तुव    | तुमं       | तुव or तुम    |
|       | { —      | —            | —          | तुह           |
|       | { —      | —            | तुए        | तुए or तुमे   |
| Instr | { त्वया  | त्वया or तया | तए or तद्  | तए or तद्     |
|       | { —      | —            | ते or तुमे | ते or तुमे    |
|       | { —      | —            | —          | तुमए or तुमद् |



| Case     | Sanskrit                                 | Pāli         | Āṣṭa             | Piākrit.                        |
|----------|--|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Abl      | त्वत्                                    | तया or तया   | तदतो             | तदतो                            |
|          |  | —            | तुमातो           | तुमतो or तुमाथो                 |
|          |  | —            | तुमादिंतो or ०दि | तुमादितो or ०दि                 |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुवतो or तुवाथो, etc            |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुहतो or तुहाथो, etc            |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुन्मतो or तुन्माथो, etc        |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुन्हतो or तुन्हाथो etc<br>[etc |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुवमतो or तुवमाथो               |
| Gen      | ते<br>तव<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—   | ते           | ते               | ते or दे or दि or ए or इ        |
|          |  | तव           | तव               | तुव or तुम, etc                 |
|          |  | —            | तुह              | तुह or तुह                      |
|          |  | —            | तुवमा            | तुमा or उवमा                    |
|          |  | तुम्ह        | तुम्ह            | तुम्ह or उम्ह or तुम्ह          |
|          |  | तुम्ह        | —                | उम्ह                            |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुन्म or उन्म                   |
|          |  | —            | —                | तद or तुम्म, etc                |
| Loc.     | त्वयि<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>—<br>— | त्वयि or तयि | त्वयि or तयि     | तुमे or तुमन्मि or तुवन्मि      |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुहन्मि                         |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुवम्मन्मि                      |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुम्हन्मि                       |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुन्मन्मि                       |
|          |  | —            | —                | —                               |
|          |  | —            | —                | —                               |
|          |  | —            | —                | —                               |
| Plur Nom | यूय                                      | तुम्हे       | तुम्हे or तुम्मे | तुम्हे or तुम्ह                 |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुम्हे or उम्हे                 |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुवम्मे                         |
|          |  | —            | —                | तुम्मे or तुन्म                 |

| Case    | Sanskrit | Pāli                | Śiṣha              | Prākṛit                   |
|---------|----------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Acc     | व.       | वो                  | वो                 | वो                        |
|         | यस्मान्  | तुम्हे (०१ तुम्हाक) | तुम्हे             | तुम्हे                    |
|         |          | —                   | तुम्हे             | तुम्हे ०१ तुम्भ           |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुम्हे ०१ उम्हे           |
| Inst    | युस्माभि | —                   | —                  | तुजम्हे                   |
|         |          | तुम्हेभि ०१ •हि     | तुम्हेहि or •हि    | तुम्हेहि ०१ उम्हेहि       |
|         |          | —                   | (तुम्हेहि ०१ •हि?) | तुम्हेहि ०१ उम्हेहि       |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुम्हेहिं ०१ उम्हेहि      |
| Abl     | युस्मत्  | —                   | —                  | तुजम्हेहि                 |
|         |          | तुम्हेभि ०१ •हि     | तुम्हेहितो         | तुम्हेहितो ०१ •सुतो*      |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुम्हाहितो ०१ •सुतो       |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुम्हे• or तुम्भा•, etc.  |
| Gen     | यस्माक   | —                   | —                  | तुम्हे• ०१ तुम्हा•*, etc  |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुजम्हे• or तुजम्भा•, etc |
|         |          | तुम्हाक             | तुम्हाणं ०१ •ण     | तुम्हाणं ०१ •ण            |
|         | Gen      | यस्माक              | —                  | —                         |
| —       |          |                     | तुम्हाणं ०१ •ण     | तुम्हाण ०१ •ण             |
| —       |          |                     | तुम्हाहि ०१ •हि    | तुम्हाण ०१ •ण             |
| तुम्हाक |          |                     | तुम्हाणं ०१ •ण     | तुम्हाण ०१ •ण             |
| Gen     | यस्माक   | —                   | —                  | तुम्भाण ०१ •ण             |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुजम्भाण ०१ •ण            |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | तुम्ह or तुम्ह            |
|         |          | तुम्ह               | —                  | तुम्भ ०१ तुम्भ            |
| Gen     | यस्माक   | —                   | —                  | तुजम्भ or तुजम्भ          |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | —                         |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | —                         |
|         |          | —                   | —                  | —                         |

\* Also उम्हेहितो or •सुतो, उम्हाहितो or •सुतो, उम्हेहितो ०१ •सुतो, उम्हाहितो or •सुतो।

| Case | Sanskrit | Pāli     | Aīśha           | Prākṛit              |
|------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Loc  | दुष्कास  | तुच्चेसु | तुच्चेसु or ०सु | तुच्चेसु or तुन्दसु* |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुमेसु or तुमसु      |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुवेसु or तुवसु      |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुच्चेसु or तुवसु    |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुन्नेसु or तुन्मसु  |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुज्जेसु or तुज्जसु  |
|      |          | —        | —               | तुसु                 |

### b, Demonstrative Pronouns

These are *tad*, *etad* and *īdam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *ima* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chandra, nom sing neuter *tam* (II, 17), nom plur masc *te* (I, 31), instr, abl, gen, loc sing fem *tā* (I, 9), gen plur com gen *tānam* or *tāham* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed, nom sing masc *sa* (II, 17, Skr *sa*), fem *sā* (II, 1, Skr *sā*), abl sing fem *tassā* (B C D, I, 3, Skr *tasyāḥ*), gen sing or plur com gen *se* (I, 17), gen plur masc or neut *tesam* (Skr *tesāṃ*) or *tesuṃ* (I, 3), loc sing masc or neut *tasmuṃ* (Skr. *tasmīn*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Pāli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesuṃ* (see Minayef's Pāli Grammar, pp 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *ti* or *tī*, viz, instr, abl, gen, loc sing *tīe* (I, 9) and abl sing *tissā* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskrit nom sing masc *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *ima*, only the regular form *imā* of the nom sing fem (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

### c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chandra, viz, the irregular Sanskrit abl sing masc or neut *jamhā* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

\* Also तुन्दासु, तमासु, तुवासु, तुव्वासु, तुज्जासु, तुज्जासु, also every form with final ०सु

and the irregular Sanskrit nom singular neuter *līṃ* (I, 23) and the regular gen plural *lanam* or *lāham* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun

#### d, Pronominal Adjectives

The pronouns of quantity are *tāva* "so much", *jāva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *tāvat*, *yāvat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *tāva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tā* (but not *jā*, for *jāva*). The Pāli has only *tāva*, *jāva*, but not *tā* (see Childers, pp 500, 599). The later Prākṛit has both pairs complete, *tāva* and *jāva*, *tā* and *jā* (H C I, 271). Pāli has also a form *jāvam* (apparently really a nom sing, like *maham*, *bhavam*), the Aīsha probably had both *tāvam* and *jāvam*, at least they occur in the Jaina Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī (see Weber's *Fragment*, p 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing masc, *katare* "which of two" (II, 10, Skt *katarah*).

#### 7, NUMERALS

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanda, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *nam* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *eka* "one", *pancha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e g, *deva*), *dvī* "two" (Skt. *dvī*) and *tri* "three" (Skt *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e g, *aggi*), and *chatu* "four" (Skt *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e g, *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit, viz, *do* or *duve* or *vo* (Skr *dvau*, *dic*, Pāli *dvo*, *duve*, Prākṛit *do*, *duve*, *vo*, *donni*, *venni*) "two", *chattāro* (acc also *chaturro*), *chatasso*, *chattāri* (so also in Pāli, Skt *chatvārah*, *chaturah*, *chatasrah*, *chatvāri*, Prāk *chattāro*, *chauro*, *chattāri*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally

- 6 *chha* (III, 14), Skt *ṣaṭ*, Pā *chha*, Prāk *chha*
- 10 *daha* (III, 14), Skt *daśa*, Pā *dasa*, Pr *dasa* or *daha*
- 13 *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skt *trayodasa*, Pā *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr *teraha*
- 16 *solasa* (III, 21), Skt *ṣoḍaśa*, Pā *solasa*, Pr *solaha* (?)
- 20 *visā* (III, 32), Skt *vimśati*, Pā *visati* or *visam*, Pr *visā*
- 30 *tisā* (I, 6), Skt *triṃsat*, Pā *tiṃsati* or *tisam*, Pr *tisā*
- 50 *panná* (III, 32), Skt *pañcāśat*, Pā *paññāśam*, Pr *pannáśa*
- 55 *panapannasa* (III, 33), Skt. *pañcapanāśat*, Pr *panchapaññāśa*, Pr *panavannā*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, viz —

6th *chhatṭho* (III, 26), Skt. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pā *chhatṭho* or *sattṭho* (Kachch p 200), Pr *chhatṭho*  
 "6 fold" *chhaḷḷam* (III, 3), Skt. *shaṭṭam*, Pā *chhaḷḷam*, Pr *chhaḷḷam*

### 8, THE VERB

Chandra's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied, and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Pāli and Sanskrit.

The old Prākṛit, like the Pāli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and ātmanepada forms, thus parasm *gacchhati* "he goes" (II, 4), ātm *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var lect*), sometimes all give the ending *e* of the ātmanepada (e g, *vijjate* in III, 11), sometimes only one or the other (e g, *dīsate* in II, 5. *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *z* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the ātmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chandra has no sūtra to allow for the change of the ātmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prākṛit, its beginnings are already to be found in Pāli (Kachch III, 4, 37 p 263), and it may have occasionally occurred in the Aśśha, it certainly *did* occur in the Aśśha in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sūtra (II, 25), but the absence of any such sūtra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sūtra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun, but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural, but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing *bhanāmi* (I, 20 22), *vemmi* (III, 3), 2nd sing *si* "thou art" (II, 18), 3rd sing *eti* (I, 12), *achchhati* (II, 1), *gacchhati* (II, 4 10), *bhāti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39), 1st plur *bhanāmo* (II, 27), 3rd plur *jalandu* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur *nisāmetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur *rakkhantu* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalandu* (Skt. *jvalanti*), etc. are of the 1st class, *eti*, *bhāti*, *vemmi*

(Skr *vachmi*) of the II<sup>nd</sup> class, *lyjante* (Skr *lyante*) is of the IV<sup>th</sup> class, *nisámetha* (Skr *nisámayata*) of the X<sup>th</sup> class

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *ya* if preceded by a vowel, or to *yya* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25) Thus 3<sup>rd</sup> sing pres *disate* for Skr *disyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1), again *najjate* for Skr *jñáyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *váhujjate* for Skr *vádhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25) \*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plur. imper *nisámetha* for Skr *nisámayata*

As to the participles, see the following section

### Conjugation of *bhan* "speak"

#### Present tense

| Person   | Sanskrit | Páli   | Ársha  | Prákrit                              |
|----------|----------|--------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Sing 1st | भणामि    | भणामि  | भणामि  | भणामि 01 भणमि                        |
| 2nd      | भणसि     | भणसि   | भणसि   | भणसि                                 |
| 3rd      | भणति     | भणति   | भणति   | भणइ                                  |
| Plur 1st | भणाम     | भणाम   | भणामो  | { भणामो or भणमो<br>भणाम 01 भणम, etc. |
| 2nd      | भणथ      | भणथ    | भणथ    | भणइ 01 भणित्थ                        |
| 3rd      | भणन्ति   | भणन्ति | भणन्ति | भणन्ति                               |

#### Imperative

|          |        |       |        |      |
|----------|--------|-------|--------|------|
| Sing 2nd | भण     | भण    | भण     | भण   |
| 3rd      | भणतु   | भणतु  | भणतु   | भणउ  |
| Plur 2nd | भणत    | भणथ   | भणथ    | भणइ  |
| 3rd      | भणन्तु | भणंतु | भणन्तु | भणतु |

#### Passive

|          |      |                         |                    |  |
|----------|------|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Sing 3rd | भणते | { भञ्जते<br>भणौचते<br>— | { भणते<br>भणिज्जते | { भणए 01 भणइ<br>भणौचए 01 ०चइ<br>भणिज्जए 01 ०ज्जइ |
|----------|------|-------------------------|--------------------|--|

\* MS A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sáhujjantam* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *y*, the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sūtra III, 25 (*nayyate*, *váhujjate*), though, no doubt, sūtra III, 16 may account for the change of *yy* to *y*

Causr

| Person   | Sanskrit | Pāli               | Āśha                  | Prākṛit          |
|----------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Sing 3rd | भाषयति   | भाषेति<br>भाषापेति | भाषेति<br>(भाषापेति?) | भाषेइ<br>भाषावेइ |

The following specialities may be noticed the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho*, e g, *hoti* "it is" (III, 31), so also in Pāli (see Minayef, p 113) Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers sing *si* "thou art" (II, 18) The roots *grah* "take" and *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *gṛhṇati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "he does" (see App B C D, III, 3)

9, SUFFIXES

a, Participial

a, *anta* (Skr *at*) forms the participle present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the ātmanepada Thus *arahaṇto* (II, 11) for Skr *arhan*, pass *bhijjantam* (II, 25) for Skṛ *bhidyamānam*

b, *mana* forms optionally the participle present of the ātmanepada verbs, e g, *sādhyaṇam* (App A, II, 25) for Skr *sādhyaṇam*

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive, e g, *katam* (Skr *kr̥tam*, I, 23), *sutam* (Skṛ *sūtam*, III, 2), *palātam* (Skr *palāyitam*, I, 23), etc After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated thus *osaitam* (Skr *apasaitam*, II, 23), *dittham* (Skr *drishṭam*, I, 27)

d, *tavva* (Skr *tavya*) forms the participle future passive Thus *soṭavvam* (Skr *sotavyam*, III, 2), *hātavvam* (Skr *hātavyam*, II, 4 III, 9, 29)

e, *ttā* or *ttu* (Skr *tīā*) form the conjunctive participle Thus *bhottum* (Skr *bhukṭva*, II, 19, final anusvāra by II, 15), *oi*, with connecting vowel *i*, *vandittā* and *vandittu* (Skr *vanditīā*, II, 19) Sometimes *tīā* forms *chcha* and *ttu* by assimilation, e g, *suchcha* (Skr *sūtīā*, II, 19), *kattu* (Skṛ *kr̥tīā*, II, 19), *oi* even *ppi*, as in *happi* (Skr *hṛtīā*, II, 19, cf *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃsa, H. C IV, 442)

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle, e g, *vandio* (Skr *vanditīā*, II, 19) \*

\* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text The suffix is perhaps *ya* (as in Pāli) MS A reads the example *vandiva* (not *vandio*), similarly A reads *ia* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *ya* Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandīya*, and accordingly the suffix *ya* (not *o*)

g, *túna* or *ttúna* (Skr *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle, e g, *bhottúna* (Skr *bhuktá*, II, 19), *látúna* (Skr *lītvā*, II, 5)

### b, Nominal

*āla* and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession Thus *jaddālo* or *jadillo* (Skr *jaṭarān*) II, 20

## 10, INDECLINABLES

a, *nai*, *cheya* or *chīya* (Skr *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17) After short vowels *ch* is doubled, thus *taṃ cheya*, but *sa chchīya*

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *via*, *va* (Skr *iva*) express likeness (II, 22), thus *gimho viya*, *lamalaṃ viya*, but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvāra, e g, *chandanam piva* (cf *pi*) The Sanskrit form *iva* also occurs, e g, *chamaram iva*

c, *jahá* (Skr *yatha*) also expresses likeness (II, 22), e g, *jahá sanḥho*

d, *pi* (Skr *apī*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *latam pi*, *sūro pi*

e, *lhu* (Skr *lhalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24), thus *evam lhu*

f, *tá* or *táia* (Skr *távat*) and *jáia* (Skr *yávat*) express measure (II, 21), e g, *tá vichchinnam*, *táia gambhíra*, *jáva lyyante*. The abbreviated form *já* does not occur See pronominal adjectives, p 11

g, *ya* (Skr *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28), e g, *ya evam*

h, *o* (Skr *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23), e g, *ohasitam* (Skr. *avahasi-tam*), *osaitam* (Skr *apasaitam*)

## ANALYSIS OF CHANDA'S SŪTRAS

### ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3 5-10 \*

The plan on which these sūtras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Piákrit These forms are enumerated in sūtra I, 3

*Secondly*, all those forms which are peculiar to Piákrit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are enumerated in the sūtras I, 5-16

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Piákrit declensional forms

\* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chanda has already been given, see pp viii-x, xxiv-xxxii



|      | masc <i>a</i> bases |                          | masc <i>i, u</i> bases |                            | fem <i>a, i, u</i> bases |                            |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| •    | Sansk               | Prák                     | Sansk                  | Prák                       | Sansk                    | Prák.                      |
| Sing | Nom                 | —                        | Nom                    |                            | Nom                      |                            |
|      | Acc                 | —                        | Acc                    |                            | Acc                      |                            |
|      | Instr               | —                        | Instr                  |                            | —                        | <i>Instr</i>               |
|      | —                   | ABL                      | —                      | Abl                        | —                        | <i>Abl</i>                 |
|      | —                   | GEN                      | —                      | GEN                        | —                        | <i>Gen</i>                 |
|      | —                   | Loc                      | —                      | Loc                        | —                        | <i>Loc</i>                 |
|      | —                   | —                        | —                      | —                          | —                        | —                          |
| Plur | Nom                 | —                        | —                      | Nom                        | —                        | <i>Nom</i>                 |
|      | —                   | ACC                      | —                      | Acc                        | —                        | <i>Acc</i>                 |
|      | —                   | <i>INSTR</i>             | Instr $\frac{1}{2}$    | <i>INSTR</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ | Instr $\frac{1}{2}$      | <i>INSTR</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|      | —                   | <i>ABL</i>               | —                      | <i>ABL</i>                 | —                        | <i>ABL</i>                 |
|      | Gen $\frac{1}{2}$   | <i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ | Gen $\frac{1}{2}$      | <i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$   | Gen $\frac{1}{2}$        | <i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$   |
|      | Loc                 | —                        | Loc                    | —                          | Loc                      | —                          |
|      | —                   | —                        | —                      | —                          | —                        | —                          |

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit, those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural, indicated by capital italics

(2) The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr, abl, gen, loc. singular and the nom acc plural indicated by small italics (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases)

(3) The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl sing and nom and acc. plural, indicated by ordinary type

(4) The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular, indicated by small capitals (In the gen sing the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc sing the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *no* of the gen is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *e* of the loc to bases in *a* )

(5) The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl sing and the acc plural, indicated by large capitals (This is the converse of No 3)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sūtras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No 1) sūtras on the instr, abl and gen plural of all genders (*lingāt parasya*, I, 5—8), secondly (by No 2) sūtras on the instr, abl, gen and loc sing, and the nom and acc plural of the feminine (*strīyām*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No 3) sūtras on the abl sing and nom acc plural of the masculine (*pūṃsi*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No 4) sūtras on the gen and the loc singular of masculines (*pūṃsi*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No 5) sūtras on the abl sing and acc plur of the masculine (*pūṃlṅge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sūtras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chanda commences with the sūtra on the gen plur, because the gen plur has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The gen plur, therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sūtra I, 3, and the Prākritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sūtra on the instr plur, because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc bases in *a*\*. Lastly comes the sūtra on the abl plural

\* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chanda was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prākrit instr plur suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr *bhis* (or *bhih*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prākrit (i.e., by the rules III, 13 II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sūtra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prak instr plur, if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base, but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *ais*, with masc bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chanda to formulate a special sūtra to meet the exceptional case of these masc *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sūtra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhiso'tah*), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix *hi* to all other bases, which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sūtra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prākritic (like the abl plur suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*samśritatad vibhalā*) and ought to be set down under sūtra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chanda did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sūtra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chanda commences with the sūtra on the nom and acc plur, instead of that on the abl singular, simply because the sūtra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom and acc plur, a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *parasah*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chanda places the acc plur before the abl sing, because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case), though another reason may have been, that sūtras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sūtras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sūtras. That the sūtras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sūtras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited, yet they are only applicable to bases in *i* and *u*. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways, 1, by the examples, these are only taken from bases in *i* and *u*, the example of the *a*-base will be found in sūtra I, 3, thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom plur not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sūtra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sūtra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc plur not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sūtra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u* bases, the sūtra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *varānam* or "implication"\*. Moreover the same implication is carried on to sūtras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *atah* "after *a*-bases" in sūtra I, 15. At the same time, the two sūtras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *i* and *u*, for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc *a*-bases, next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sūtra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi bhīṣah*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sūtra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sūtra, is a favorite one with Chanda. Another striking example (regarding the gen and loc sing) will be noticed further on in the text.

\* The limitation of sūtra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sūtra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sūtras, viz, I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc plur and abl sing. Of these the latter set, viz I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *i* and *u*. There are, thus two sūtras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only, next two sūtras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases, lastly two sūtras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before, by the examples. In sūtra I, 13 the examples of the *z*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *no*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sūtra I, 14 the examples of the *z*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms, thus showing that the loc in *e* does not belong to the *z*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base\*. It hardly needs adding, that in sūtra I, 16, of course, the term *atah* is again "implied" from the preceding sūtra, though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *āt* (instead of *āsī*) used in the sūtra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns, they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prākṛit columns, and which are "*samskritavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prākṛit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are —

(1) The nom and acc singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *z*, *u*) and of all three genders, thus Skr nom sing *grāmah*, Aī *gāmao* (II, 10) = *gāmo* (II, 1, cf Kachch II, 1, 32 p 48), or Skr *pīṭham*, Aī *pīḍha* + *am* = *pīḍham* (II, 1, cf Pāṇini VII, 1 24 in Laghu Kaumudī, p 83) or Skī *agnih*, Aī *aggr* (II, 10), or Skī *dadhi*, Aī *dahi* (II, 10, cf Pāṇini VII, 1 23 in L K p 85), or Skī *nadī*, Aī *nai*, or Skr *vadhūh*, Aī *vahū* (II, 10). Acc sing Skī *grāmam*, Aī *gāma-am* = *gāmam* (II, 1, cf Pāṇini VI, 1, 107 in L K p 47), or Skī *agnim*, Aī *aggr + am* = *aggim* (cf Pāṇini *ibid*), or Skī *gangām*, Aī *gangām*, or Skī *nadīm*, Aī *naim*, etc.

(2) The nom plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*, thus Skr. *devāh*, Aī *devā* (II, 10), or Skr *hulāni*, Aī *hulāni* or *hulāni* (III, 16).

\* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurne* (or *aggie*, *gurūe* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sūtra. For the forms have no support either from Pali or from Prākṛit, indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid the *a* in their rules (H C III, 128 Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurne* are simply the regular Prakṛit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnīke*, *guruḥke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa soḥā* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS A and B. For the gen sing of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskritic form, and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen sing of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chakādiagrahanat*, etc, of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was *their* way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chanda's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But *their* solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *cha*.

(3) The instr singular of masc and neuter bases in *a*, thus Skt *devéna*, Ar *deīna* (III, 16)

(4) The instr plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders, thus Skt *agnibhih*, Ar *aggīhi* (II, 10 III, 13), or Skt *nadibhih*, Ar *naīhi*, etc. The Skt suffix *bhih* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Arsha form, therefore, is perfectly regular, but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skt *aīh*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr plur in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvi

(5) The gen plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders, thus Skt *grāmānām*, Aī *gāma + nam = gāmānam* (I, 5 II 1, cf Pāṇini VI, 4 3 and VII, 1 51 in L K p 51, *i e*, Skt *nām* becomes *nam* by I, 5, but *nam* consists of the augment *n* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gāma* becomes long *ā* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1)

(6) The loc plur of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders, thus Skt *deveshu*, Aī *deva-su = devesu* (cf Pāṇini VII, 3, 103 in L K p 50), or Skt *agnishu*, Ar *aggisu* (III, 18), or Skt *nadishu*, Ar *naīsu*, etc

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chanda in sūtra I, 3

In MS B a few additional forms are given in sūtra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc plur, and abl gen and loc singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sūtra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmīn*, *īdānī*, etc). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gangā*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc plur and *gāme*, *lūle* in the loc sing are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sūtra, as the former forms come under sūtra I, 10, 15, the latter under sūtra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

## ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL *N* TO CEREBRAL *N*

### POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xlv, xlvi

The only instances in which the Aīshī shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *n*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *na* or *nā* of the instr sing (I, 3), *no* of the abl gen sing and nom acc plur (I, 11, 12), *ni* of the nom plur neut (I, 4), *na* (or *nam*) of the gen plur. (I, 5) Again the derivative suffixes *tāna* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

*ttana* (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *na* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*) In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the *Āśha* is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used, there are exceptions in which the cerebral *n* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions, for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *n*, e g *nānaṃ* (III, 6), but *nānaṃ* (III, 19), *dhannaṃ* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhannaṃ* (III, 16)

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *n*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS B. Thus it has instr sing *devena* in I, 3, *nehena* in II, 27, nom plur *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), gen plur *devānaṃ* in I, 3 (but *buddhīnaṃ*, *nāinaṃ*, etc) and *no* in the sūtra of I, 5 (but *na* in all examples), *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttana* in the sūtra and in all examples), *na* in II, 17 (in the sūtra, but *na* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS B has uniformly the cerebral *n*, viz, in the instr sing suffix *na* (I, 3), the abl gen sing and nom acc plur suffix *no* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *tīna* (II, 19). In the MS A there are only two instances of want of uniformity, viz, the nom plur *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), and *na* in II, 17 (only in the sūtra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom plur neuter (where both MSS A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr sing of *a*-bases (which MS B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *n*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the *Āśha* forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas. This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *n* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases, in the case of the instr sing suffix *nā*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *n* in Prākṛit (at least in the Western Prākṛit), there can be no doubt, evidence of it, in the modern Western Gaudian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prākṛit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prākṛit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandria, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prakrit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prakrit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prakrit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prakrit and the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prakrit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings, and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype, for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prakrit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-sruti*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prakrit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*, for then the vowels practically tend to combine ( $a+i = ai$  or  $ay$ ,  $a+u = o$  or  $au$ , etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* ( $a+a$  or  $a+a$ , etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prakrit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels ( $aya = a+a$ ,  $ya = i+a$ ,  $uya$  or  $uva = u+a$ , etc.), a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prakrit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-sruti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandria, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prakrit, allows the *ya-sruti* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (II C I, 100) The non-Jain cultivators of Prākṛit (*e.g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Māhāśāstrī Prākṛit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-sruti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prākṛit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chanda (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant\*. Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *kaṭuḥḥoo* for *kaṭoḥḥoo*. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prākṛit, both the Jaina and the Māhāśāstrī. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prākṛit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e.g.*, in Hindi *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prākṛit was probably this. In the later Prākṛit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see VI I, 12, 20 H C I, 85, 116), a practice apparently unknown to the older Prākṛit of Chanda. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*, *kaṭuḥḥoo* and *kaṭoḥḥoo*), of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaṭoḥḥoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendā*, *krītodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u*. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view, and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *a* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side

## ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp xxvi and xxviii

The remark as to the permissive character of Chanda's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prākṛit of Chanda's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-sruti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

\* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples



kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule, and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prākṛit of Chanda's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule, in both cases, there might be exceptions, but Chanda's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch III, 31 II, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards detrition on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

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## ॥ (१) ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः (१) ॥



प्रणम्य\* शिरसा वीरं स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिर् अक्षरैः ।

लक्षणं प्राकृतं वक्ष्ये किञ्चिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥

कञ्चित् लोपः कञ्चित् सन्धिः कञ्चिद् वर्णविपर्ययः ।

(१) आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ (२) अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

॥ १ ॥ सिद्धं (२) प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥ १ ॥

सिद्धं (६) प्रसिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा (७) त्रिप्रकारं (८) भवति (९) ॥ (१०) संस्कृतयोनिः ।

तच् चेदं ॥ यज्ञः (११) जन्मो (१२) । मात्रा मत्ता । \*\* नित्यं निचं । इत्यादि (१३) ॥

१ १

\* C अहं वृद्धमतात् किञ्चित् प्राकृतं लक्षणं वक्ष्ये अक्षरैः स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिः शिरसा वीरं प्रणम्य ॥ † C व्यापिभिर् व्यापनशैलैः ॥ ‡ C प्राकृतं । प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं । तत्रभव ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतं । संस्कृतं खगिणा भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता । प्राकृतं तज्ज तत्तुल्य देशादिकम् अनेकधा ॥ § C संस्कृतयोनिः । संस्कृताद् योनिर् यस्य तत् संस्कृतयोनिः ॥ ॥ C यज्ञ यजन । पुलिगे । यस्य ज (iii, 15 जज्ञः) । वर्णविस्लेष कृत्वा शाश्व पञ्चमो वा (iii, 6 जज्ज) । इज्जथाना रनखा. (iii, 19 जन) । लोपे द्विल (iii, 24 जन्न) । एदोद्रलोपा विमर्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जन्नश्चो) । खराणा खरे परे (ii, 1) जन्नो ॥ ¶ C मात्रा काल-विशेषः स्याद् वा अक्षिस्मन्दनप्रमाणकाल । सौलिगे ॥ \*\* C नित्यं । नपुसके ॥

(१) C prefixes ८० = 80, the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work *tatvārthadhigamam mohasvāstram*, in my possession, D prief ६०=60 (२) C ओ नमः सिद्धेभ्यः, D ओ नमः सिद्धं ॥ (३) So A, C D read आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात्स तुभाषितान्; B om the second verse altogether. (४) So A, B C D om this clause (५) B om this sūtra, giving only the commentary. (६) B om (७) B त्रिधा ॥ (८) A D om (९) A B om (१०) So D, A B C योनिः ॥ (११) A यज्ञ, B यज्ञा. ॥ (१२) A जन्मा, B जन्मा, C D जन्मो ॥ (१३) A B om.

(१)संस्कृतसम\* । तच् चेदं । स्थिरो । सोमो । जालं<sup>(१)</sup> । कंदलं<sup>(१)</sup> ।  
 कोमलं<sup>(४)</sup> । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं<sup>(५)</sup> (C D<sup>(६)</sup>) । तच् चेदं ॥ हर्षि-  
 तं<sup>(७)</sup> ल्हसिचं । <sup>(७)</sup>स्यष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलितं <sup>(८)</sup>पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलीय ।  
 इत्यादि ॥

॥ २ ॥ लिंगं च<sup>(९)</sup> ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा<sup>(१०)</sup> त्रिप्रकारं<sup>(११)</sup> भवति ॥ देवो<sup>(१२)</sup> ।  
 गंगा<sup>(१३)</sup> । कुलं ॥

॥ ३ ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयो<sup>(१४)</sup> भवन्ति ॥ सि<sup>(१५)</sup> ॥ देवो<sup>†</sup> ।  
 अग्निः । रिपु<sup>(१६)</sup> । बुद्धि<sup>(१७)</sup> । धेनु<sup>(१८)</sup> । नदी<sup>(१९)</sup> । वधू<sup>(२०)</sup> । पीठं<sup>(२१)</sup> ।

\* C संस्कृतसम संस्कृतेन सम ॥ † C स्थिरो रविः । सोमो चन्द्र । जालं पाश । कदल  
 कलहः । कोमल सुकुमार ॥ ‡ C देवः । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 देवयो) । खराणा खरे प्रकृति-  
 लोपसधय (ii, 1) देवो । § C अग्नी अग्नि । शाच० (iii, 6 अग्नि) । लोपे० (iii, 24  
 अग्निः) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4 अग्नीः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10) अग्नी ॥ ॥ C वधू । हो  
 खघधभाना (iii, 13) ॥

(१) A B सम संस्कृत ॥ (२) A B जाल ॥ (३) A कदल, B क ॥ (४) A B कोमल,  
 C D add कमल ॥ (५) B देशीयप्रसिद्धम्; it may be noted here, that A B not  
 uncommonly write स् or सु for a final anusvara at the end of a clause or sentence.  
 (६) C D om the remainder, in the place of which they have a different reading,  
 see Appendix C D (७) A om Sanskrit (८) A पुष्ट चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वली । (९)  
 B चसु ॥ (१०) A B त्रिधा ॥ (११) A D om, B त्रि प्रकार ॥ (१२) D adds Skt देव ॥  
 (१३) B गंग. or गमा. ? ॥ (१४) C D prefix सप्त ॥ (१५) A B om this case-term,  
 A B C D read final i and u, where the text has r and v, and C D add the  
 Skr translations देव । अग्नि । रिपुः । बुद्धिः । धेनु । नदी । वधू । पीठ । दधि ।  
 मधु । ज । अह । देव । कुलानि । etc (१६) C D add, गुरु । गुरु ॥ (१७) A B  
 बुद्धी, C D om. this example (१८) B धेनुः, C D धेनू ॥ (१९) A C D एदं ॥  
 (२०) A C वधू ॥ (२१) C D पीठः । पीठो ॥

दरि । मज्ज । त्वं<sup>(१)</sup> । अहं<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ जम् ॥ देवा<sup>(१)</sup> । कुलानि<sup>(४)</sup> । वयं<sup>(५)</sup> ।  
 तुमो अमो । (C D) ॥ अम्<sup>(५)</sup> ॥ देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं<sup>(७)</sup> । (८) गंगां\* ।  
 बुद्धिं<sup>(८)</sup> । धेनुं । नदीं<sup>(१०)</sup> । पीठं<sup>(११)</sup> । दधिं । मधुं । (१२) त्वां मां  
 तां रक्त्वयो<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥ अम्<sup>(१२)</sup> (B C D) ॥ टा ॥ देवेण<sup>(१५)</sup> । गुरुणा<sup>(१६)</sup> ।  
 दक्षिणा<sup>(१७)</sup> ॥ भिम् ॥ अग्निहिं<sup>(१८)</sup> । रिपुहिं<sup>(१८)</sup> । बुद्धिहिं<sup>(१९)</sup> । नदीहिं<sup>(१९)</sup> ।  
 दधिहिं । मज्जहिं<sup>(२०)</sup> । तुम्हेहिं<sup>(२०)</sup> । अग्नेहिं<sup>(२०)</sup> ॥ डांसं<sup>(२०)</sup> (B C D) ॥  
 भम्<sup>(२०)</sup> (C D) ॥ डम्<sup>(२५)</sup> (B C D) ॥ आम ॥ देवानां<sup>(२५)</sup> ।  
 बुद्धीणां<sup>(२५)</sup> । धेनूणां<sup>(२५)</sup> । नदीणां<sup>(२५)</sup> । तेसां<sup>(२५)</sup> ॥ तेति<sup>(२५)</sup> ॥ डि<sup>(२५)</sup> ।

\* C गं रता । सरोऽन्योन्यम् (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गं ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-अम्) ।  
 सरोऽन्योन्यम् (ii, 1 धेनु-अम् or धेनुम्) । सरोऽ (ii, 1 धेनुम्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 धेनु) ॥  
 † C बुद्धिभिः । बुद्धिदा यस्य त (iii, 17 बुद्धिभिः) । रक्षणा स (iii, 18 बुद्धिभिः) ।  
 गं (iii, 3 बुद्धिभिः) । गदयेत् (iii, 23 बुद्धिभिः) । सरोऽ (ii, 4 तुम्हेभिः) । अदागमो  
 (ii, 11 तुम्हेभिः) । चि भिम् । (i 7) तुम्हि ॥ ‡ C तेति । तेपा । रक्षणा स (iii, 18  
 तेसां) । सरोऽन्योन्यम् (ii, 4) इत्यनेन पाप्म इति वि भवति । तेति ॥

(१) So A (see Kace ii, 2, 21), B तुमम्, C D तुम् ॥ (२) D अद्य and, after  
 it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवा, B देय (cf p 2, note १३) (४) C D कुलानि ॥  
 (५) B वयं; C D have a different reading, see Appendix C D (६) A reads  
 confusedly बुद्धि । जम् । धेनु । पीठ । मज्ज । त्वा । मा त रक्त्वयो, om the rest of  
 the examples of the acc sing, C D add the Skr translations देव ।  
 अग्नि । गुरु । गंगा । बुद्धिं । धेनु । नदी । पीठ । दधि । मधु ॥ (७) C D add रिपु रिपु  
 (D in MS रिपु) ॥ (८) So B, C D गम् ॥ (९) B D बुद्धि ॥ (१०) C D नदी, A  
 B om. (११) A B पीठ ॥ (१२) A reads त्वा मा तं रं, B C त्वा मा त रं स रं, D  
 त्वा त मा स रं ॥ (१३) A B रक्त्वयो C D रक्त्वड ॥ (१४) A om, see App B C D  
 (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr देवेन । गुरुणा । दध्ना ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जणा ॥  
 (१७) D add रक्षणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्नीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिपूहिं, D रिपूहिं, B om.  
 this example, A om this and the remaining examples of the instr plur, C D  
 add the Skr translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दधिभिः । मधुभिः ।  
 बुद्धीभिः । अम्नाभिः ॥ (२०) B बुद्धीहिं, C यं, D बुद्धिहिं and adds गुरुहिं ॥ (२१)  
 C D नदीहिं ॥ (२२) B C D दधिहिं, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read ०धो ॥ (२४) A om.;  
 see App B C D (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5), D adds Skr देवानां ॥ (२६) D बु० ॥  
 (२७) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen plur, C D धेनूणां ॥  
 (२८) C D नदीणां ॥ (२९) B D तेपा, C om. (३०) C D add जेति । गिरौषं ॥

(BCD) ॥ सुप् ॥ देवेषु<sup>(१)</sup> । अग्निसु<sup>(२)</sup> । बुद्धिसु<sup>(३)</sup> । माला-  
सु<sup>(४)</sup> । नईसु<sup>(५)</sup> । कुलेसु<sup>(६)</sup> । तुम्हेसु<sup>(७)</sup> । अम्हेसु<sup>(८)</sup> । (CD) ॥  
इत्यादि<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

॥ ४ ॥ कचिद् व्यत्ययः\* ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिंगानां कचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जम्<sup>(१०)</sup> ॥ विज्जुणो ।  
देवाणि<sup>(११)</sup> रक्खंतु<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥

॥ ५ ॥ सागमस्याप् आसो णो<sup>(१३)</sup> हो<sup>(१४)</sup> वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५) सागमस्यासोऽनागमस्यापि एकारो भवति हो वा ॥ ताणं ताहं ॥  
देवाणं<sup>(१६)</sup> देवाहं । कम्माणं । कम्माहं । (१७) सरिताणं सरिताहं । (CD) ।  
(१८) तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ सख्याया<sup>(१९)</sup> एहः ॥ ६ ॥

\* C व्यत्यय । विपर्यय ॥ † C विज्जुणो । विद्युत् । अदागसो० (ii, 11 विद्यु) ।  
वर्गादु० (iii, 5 विद्यु) । तवर्गासु० (iii, 16 विज्जु) । लोपे० (iii, 24 विज्जु) । णो  
इसस्य (i, 12 विज्जुणो) ॥ ‡ C ताण । ताह । तेपा ॥ § C सर्वेषां शब्दानां अग्रे आसु  
कर्णाय । एकस्मिन् स्थाने एः द्वितीयस्थाने हो विकल्पेन द्वौ कर्त्तव्यौ ॥ ॥ C देवानां ।  
कम्माणां । सरिता । युष्माक ॥

(१) A om, D देवेषु, B prefixes Skr देवेषु ॥ (२) A B अग्नौसु, CD  
अग्नौसु ॥ (३) A बुद्धौसु, B C बु०, D बुद्धौसु ॥ (४) A C om, CD add  
मालासु ॥ (५) A om, C एईसु, D एईसु ॥ (६) CD om (७) D तुम्हेसु,  
and adds तुम्हेसु ॥ (८) B अम्हेसु, C अम्हेसु, D अम्हेसु ॥ (९) BCD एवमादि  
द्रव्य ॥ (१०) So A, BCD एसो जसो, CD add एसो । कुलो ॥ (११) C  
adds देवाहं देवाहं, D adds देवाहं ॥ (१२) D रक्खन्तो ॥ (१३) B नो ॥ (१४) D  
om (१५) B सागमस्यासो अनागम ॥ (१६) B om (१७) ACD सरियाण  
सरियाहं, B सरियायाण सरियायाह, D prefixes सरिता ॥ (१८) AB तुम्हाणं  
तुम्हाह, D तुमाण तुम्हाह ॥ (१९) CD सख्याया ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप् आसो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) ।  
\*पंचणहं । तीमणहं<sup>(१)</sup> । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6 ॥ (C D) ॥ ६\* ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि<sup>(२)</sup> भिषः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिषो हि<sup>(२)</sup> भवति ॥ देवेहिं<sup>(३)</sup> । गामेहिं<sup>(३)</sup> । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हितो<sup>(४)</sup> भ्यसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसो<sup>(५)</sup> हितो भवति ॥ गामेहितो<sup>(६)</sup> । सिद्धे-  
हितो<sup>(७)</sup> । बुद्धिहितो<sup>(८)</sup> । धेनुहितो<sup>(९)</sup> । नर्देहितो<sup>(१०)</sup> । तुन्देहितो<sup>(११)</sup> ।  
अन्देहितो<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥

॥ 9 ॥ तृतीयादीनाम् एत्वम्<sup>(१३)</sup> एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

तृतीयादीनां टाङ्गसिङ्गम्ङि-वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए<sup>(१४)</sup> ।  
बुद्धीए<sup>(१५)</sup> । नर्देए<sup>(१५)</sup> । वद्धए<sup>(१६)</sup> । तीए<sup>(१७)</sup> । ताए ॥ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओउलोपा<sup>(१८)</sup> जश्शसोः<sup>(१९)</sup> ॥ १० ॥

\* C पचणह । पचानां ॥ पचन् । अदागमो० (ii, 11 पच) । सख्याया ष (i, 6 पचणह) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 पचणह) ॥ † C तीमणह । चिगता ॥ चिगत् । रेफ० (iii, 9 तिगत्) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तिगत्) । स्वारो० (ii, 4 तीमणत्) । रणपाणा स. (iii, 18 तीमण्) । तस्य च इत्य् चनेन तलोप (iii, 38 तीस) । सख्याया ष (i, 6 तीसणह) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तीसणह) ॥ ‡ C देवेहि । देवैः ॥ § C गगाए । गगाया । गगाया गगायाः । गंगाया ॥ ॥ C तीए ताए । तथा तस्या. तस्या. तस्या ॥

(१) A तीमणह ; C D prefix चीसणह ॥ (२) B C D हि ॥ (३) C D om , but see App C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिषो ॥ (६) A C om , B D गामेहितो , D prefixes गामेथ ॥ (७) A सिद्धीहितो , B सिद्धाहितो , C D read देवेहितो and add अग्नीहितो । गुरुहितो ॥ (८) B C बुद्धीहितो , A D बु० ॥ (९) C D धेनुहितो , A B धेनु० ॥ (१०) C D नर्देहितो ॥ (११) B D तुन्दो and अन्दो ॥ (१२) A om. , see i, 29. (१३) A एकत्वम् , B एत्वम् ॥ (१४) A B D बु० ॥ (१५) C D नर्देए ॥ (१६) A व० ॥ (१७) C D place ताए । तीए ॥ (१८) A ओउ० , B उओलोपो ॥ (१९) C D जश्शसोः , B जश्शसोः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोर्<sup>(१)</sup> जश्शसोर्<sup>(२)</sup> ओ-उ-लोपाश् च भवन्ति<sup>(३)</sup> ॥  
 (७) मालाओ मालाउ माला । (४) बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । (५) धेनूओ  
 धेनूउ धेनू । नईओ नईउ नई\* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10<sup>a</sup> ॥ (C D) ॥ १०<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुसि पूर्व्वत्वं<sup>(६)</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

पुसि<sup>(७)</sup> पुंल्लिगे वर्तमानयोर् जश्शसोः<sup>(२)</sup> पूर्व्वस्वरो भवति ॥  
 अग्गी<sup>(८)</sup> । गुरू ॥

॥ 11<sup>a</sup> ॥ C ॥ ११<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो डसेश् च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंल्लिगे वर्तमानयोर् जश्शसोर्<sup>(२)</sup> णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥  
 †अग्गिणो जलन्ति । ‡सुणिणो पस्सु<sup>(१०)</sup> । ॥ गिरिणो एति<sup>(११)</sup> नई<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्सुश्<sup>(१३)</sup> च डसः<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥ १३ ॥

पुसि वर्तमानस्य डसो णो भवति । स्सुश्<sup>(१३)</sup> च भवति<sup>(१५)</sup> ॥ ‡सुणिणो

\* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples, but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each

form, thus मालाओ ॥ † C यादश् पूर्व्वशब्दस्य स्वरस्तादृश एव कर्त्तव्य ॥ ‡ C अग्र्य-  
 ज्वलन्ति ॥ § C सुनीन् पश्य ॥ ॥ C गिरे सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरित एति नदी ॥  
 ¶ B मुने रूप ॥

(१) A reads वर्तमाना एते भवन्ति ॥ (२) C D जश्शसोर् ॥ (३) B reads उ  
 ओ भवन्ति । लोपो भवन्ति ॥ (४) A has final ओ, and D has final उ, instead  
 of ओ, in all examples, exc D एईओ, B places मालाउ मालाओ and  
 so on throughout (५) B वु in all three examples (६) A C D पू for नू  
 in all three examples (७) B पूर्व्वत्वं ॥ (८) A om (९) C D प्रेरि देवा ॥  
 (१०) B पस्सन्ति ॥ (११) A B C एद्, D एद् ॥ (१२) A C D एद्, B वद् ॥ (१३) B  
 स्य ॥ (१४) A डसो ए ॥ (१५) A om

(<sup>१</sup>रूपं (<sup>१</sup>)सुणिस्स रूपं । \*अग्निणो मिहा अग्निस्स मिहा ॥ (<sup>१</sup>)देवस्स चेद्दहा । (CD) ॥

॥ 11 ॥ ण नि डः ॥ १४ ॥

पुमि डिवचनस्य ए<sup>(४)</sup> भवति । मि च भवति ॥ (<sup>५</sup>अग्निग्निम् ।  
(<sup>६</sup>गुरुग्निम् ॥ (<sup>७</sup>)गान्ते गान्ति ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (<sup>८</sup>ए न्नेऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः(<sup>९</sup>) अकाराद् उन्नरस्य शप्तः(<sup>१०</sup>) पुंस्त्रिणे ए भवति ॥ देवे ॥ ।  
वंभणे(<sup>११</sup>) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (<sup>१२</sup>)तोतुद्धितोन्तोपास् तत्त्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(<sup>१२</sup>पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य(<sup>१४</sup>) तोतुद्धितो लोपा(<sup>१५</sup>) एते

\* BC अग्ने. निखा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्ने ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निणो (1, 11 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्निम् । अग्नी or अग्निणो (1, 11 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्निणा (1, 6<sup>a</sup>) । अग्नीचि (1, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्निणो or अग्निस्स । अग्नीण or अग्नीद (11, 13 1, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्निणो (1, 12) । अग्नीचितो (1, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्निणो or अग्निस्स (1, 13) । अग्नीण or अग्नीद (1, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्निण (1, 14) । अग्नीस्स or अग्नीस्स (1, 3 11, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निणो ॥ एव इकाराताना सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरौ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ १ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरुचि ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुण or गुरुच ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुणो । गुरुचितो ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुण or गुरुच ॥ ६ ॥ गुरुण (1, 14) or गुरुग्निम् । गुरुस्स or गुरुस्स ॥ ७ ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निणो ॥ एव उकाराताना सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ ॥ C देवान् । ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(१) A reads पस्स (see 1, 12), B C D रूप ॥ (२) C D रूप; A B om सुणिस्स रूप । अग्निणो मिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स शोभा before अग्निस्स मिहा, A B om. (४) C D अग्निच भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्नि, B C D अग्नी ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरु, C गुरु, but not A B (७) C D prefix देवे । देवम् ॥ (८) B om thus sūtra and its commentary (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शप्त ॥ (११) A वंभणे (see 11, 15) (१२) A B C D read ओउ for तोतु, and C D insert चि after उ; B has the marginal note चि वुडि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आगत आदे, B पचमी अत आदे, C पचमी अत् । आदे, D पचत् परस्स आदे, C had originally आन्, but the long ā is changed to a by yellow pigment (१४) B आदेशतकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D ओउ for तोतु ॥ (१६) MS अग्नी and गुरु ॥



आदेशा भवन्ति<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ <sup>(१)</sup>गयणातो\* । गयणातुं । गयणादितो<sup>(२)</sup> ।  
गयणा<sup>(३)</sup> ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदोः<sup>(४)</sup> से षष्ठीरूपाणा<sup>(५)</sup> ॥ १७ ॥

तद्<sup>(६)</sup> इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वज्जत्वेषु स्त्रीपुनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य  
से भवति ॥ तस्याः<sup>(७)</sup> रूपं से रूपं<sup>(८)</sup> । तस्याः<sup>(९)</sup> गुणाः<sup>(१०)</sup> से गुणा<sup>(११)</sup> ।  
<sup>(१२)</sup>अस्याः रूपं से रूपं<sup>(१३)</sup> । <sup>(१४)</sup>अस्याः गुणाः से गुणा । एवं शेषेष्व्  
अपि द्रष्टव्याः<sup>(१५)</sup> ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युग्मदः ॥ १८ ॥

अत<sup>(१६)</sup> ऊर्द्धं युग्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

\* C गगनात् । कगचज्ज० (or कद्वतीय० III, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गञ्जन) ।  
क्षिप्ते यत्त्वञ्चवर्ण (or य० चवर्णे III, 35 गयन) । तवर्गस्य० (III, 16 गयण) । स्वरौ०  
(II, 4 गयणा) । यो० (I, 16) इति गयणाद्यौ ॥ † C गयणो<sup>(१७)</sup> । गयणा । हे गयणो ।  
हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयण । गयणा or गयणे (I, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहि or गयणेहि or  
गयणेहि ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणाण or गयणाद् ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाद्यो or गयणाड or गयणादि or  
गयणादितो or गयणा । गयणेदितो ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणाण or गयणाद् ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे  
or गयणमि । गयणेसु or गयणेषु ॥ ७ ॥ एव सर्वेषाञ्चकारानामा रूपं नेय ॥ ‡ C युग्म-  
दध्याय रूपानि ॥ तुम । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुम् or तुम । तुम्हे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तद्  
or तम् । तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहि ॥ ३ ॥ तुम् or तुम्ह or तुम्ह । तुम्हाण or  
तुम्हाद् or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हादि or तुम्हादितो or तुम्हाद्यो or तद्मो । तुम्हेदितो ॥ ५ ॥  
तुम् or तुम्ह or तुम्ह । तुम्हाण or तुम्हाद् or तुम्ह ॥ ६ ॥ तद् or तुममि । तुम्हेसु  
or तुम्हेसु ॥ ७ ॥

(१) A adds हिङ्, B C D insert हि after °तु० ॥ (२) A गयणाद्यो, गयणाड  
with ā, B C D गयणाद्यो । गयणाड (with a) (३) A गयणादितो (with ā), it  
also adds गयणादि (with ā), while B C D prefix it (४) C D add एव देवादयः ॥  
(५) A B D °मो ॥ (६) A om षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D तत ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A,  
B C D रूप ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणा ॥ (१२) A B om the two last  
examples (१३) A B C D एव ॥ (१४) D om this example, but, on the other  
hand, adds तयो रूपं से रूपं । तामा रूपं से रूपं ॥ (१५) B °व्या ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥  
(१७) So in MS, as mas.



॥ 23 ॥ ते तुमे तद् तए टायां<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ २३ ॥

युद्धदः<sup>(१)</sup> टावचने <sup>(२)</sup>परे ते तुमे तद् तए एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।  
सविभक्तेः ॥ किं<sup>(३)</sup> ते कतं<sup>(४)</sup> । तुमे \*दिटो<sup>(५)</sup> । †तद् मज्झं<sup>(६)</sup> कतं<sup>(७)</sup> ।  
तए पल्लात<sup>(८)</sup> ॥

॥ 24 ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहितो<sup>(९)</sup> तुमातो<sup>(१०)</sup> तदत्तो<sup>(११)</sup> पंचम्यां ॥ २४ ॥

युद्धदः<sup>(११)</sup> पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं<sup>(१२)</sup> तुमाहितो<sup>(१३)</sup> तुमातो<sup>(१४)</sup>  
तदत्तो<sup>(१५)</sup> एते आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरु<sup>(१६)</sup>  
तुमाहितो<sup>(१७)</sup> अहं सुहओ<sup>(१८)</sup> । †तुमातो<sup>(१९)</sup> अहं ॥ नाणी<sup>(१९)</sup> ।  
तदत्तो<sup>(११)</sup> निक्खतो<sup>(२०)</sup> ॥ (C D) ॥

\* C दिटो । दृष्ट ॥ खरारि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन ऋवेण दृ इत्य् अस्य दि भवति (दिष्ट) ।  
वर्मो (iii, 3) इत्य् अनेन ऋवेण दृ इति प्रकारस्य लोपः । ट स्थित (दिट्) । लोपो० (iii, 24  
दिट्) । तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिट्) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 दिट्) । खराणा० (ii, 1 दिट्) ॥  
† CB तथा मध्य छत ॥ ‡ B पल्लात । प्रल्लात ॥ C पल्लातं । प्रल्लत ॥ § B लद्ध  
जानी ॥ ॥ C जानी । वर्णविच्छेपे छते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । शाच० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन  
जलोपः (जानी) । जजथाना० (iii, 19 नानी) । तवर्माध्य० (iii, 16 नाणी) ॥

(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दृ ॥ (३) A om परे-एते incl (४) A किन्ने ॥  
(५) A B C D कय, C D add the Skr translations कि तथा छत । तथा दृष्टः ।  
तथा मस (B मध्य in marginal gloss, q v) छत । तथा प्रल्लत (so C, D प्रल्लित) ॥  
(६) A B दिटो, C दिटो, D दिटो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्झ कय, B मज्झकिय, C D मज्झ कय ॥  
(८) A पल्लात, B पल्लात, C पल्लात, D पल्लित ॥ (९) B तुमाहितो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाच,  
B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तदत्तो ॥ (१२) A ०दृ ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिन् इत्यादय, om  
the other forms (१४) B तुमाहितो, A om (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाच, A om  
(१६) B सूरु, D adds the Skr translations लद्ध अहं शूरु । लद्ध अहं सुभग । लद्ध  
अहं जानी । लद्ध अहं निष्कृत, C om\* them in the text, but gives them in the  
marginal gloss (१७) A om तुमाहितो ॥ (१८) B orig सहओ, corr सु०, D  
सुहउ ॥ (१९) B नाणी, A C D णाणी (see iii, 6 iii, 19) (२०) So D, C निक्खतो,  
A निक्खानो, B रक्खवतो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तुष्ट तुज्ज<sup>(१)</sup> तुष्ट<sup>(२)</sup> पण्णा<sup>(३)</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

अमदः पण्णकवचने परे<sup>(४)</sup> तुष्ट तुज्ज<sup>(५)</sup> तुष्ट<sup>(६)</sup> एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।  
सविभक्तेः ॥ \*तुष्ट मीलं<sup>(७)</sup> । तुज्ज<sup>(८)</sup> कलाओ<sup>(९)</sup> । तुष्ट<sup>(१०)</sup> गुणा<sup>(११)</sup> ॥

॥ 25' ॥ C D ॥ २५' ॥

॥ 25' ॥ (C D) ॥ २५' ॥

॥ 26 ॥ अमदः ॥ २६ ॥

अत<sup>(१२)</sup> ऊर्द्ध<sup>(१३)</sup> अमदधायो भवति<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥

॥ 26' ॥ C D ॥ २६' ॥

॥ 26' ॥ (C D) ॥ २६' ॥

॥ 26' ॥ C D ॥ २६' ॥

॥ 26' ॥ C D ॥ २६' ॥

॥ 27 ॥ से मण टायां ॥ २७ ॥

अमदः<sup>(१५)</sup> टावचने परे से मण भवतः । सविभक्तेः<sup>(१६)</sup> ॥ से कत<sup>(१७)</sup> ।  
सण दिट्ठं<sup>(१८)</sup> ॥

॥ 28 ॥ सदन्तो<sup>(१९)</sup> ऊर्द्धा ॥ २८ ॥

\* (१) तव शीलं । तव कला । तव गुणा. ॥ † B मया कृत ॥

(१) A तुष्ट, B तुष्टम् ॥ (२) B तुष्ट, C D तुष्टा ॥ (३) A om तुष्ट, तुष्टम्, तुष्ट ॥  
\* (४) B तुष्टम् ॥ (५) B तुष्ट, D तुष्टा ॥ (६) A शीलं ॥ (७) A कालायो, B कला ॥  
(८) A B तुष्ट ॥ (९) A गुणी ॥ (१०) B इत, D अत ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्ध ॥  
(१२) A निरूप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दृष्ट ॥ (१४) A B om (१५) A B C D कय,  
C D add the Skr translations मया कृत । मया दृष्ट ॥ (१६) A दिट्ठ, B दिट्ठ ॥  
(१७) So A, B C D सदन्तो ॥

अस्मदः<sup>(१)</sup> पञ्चमेकवचने परे मद्भक्तो<sup>(२)</sup> भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ \*मद्भक्तो<sup>(३)</sup>  
तुमं स्वरौ<sup>(४)</sup> ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अन्धादितो<sup>(५)</sup> भ्यसि ॥ २९ ॥

अस्मदो<sup>(६)</sup> भ्यसि परे अन्धादितो<sup>(५)</sup> भवति । सविभक्तेः<sup>(७)</sup> ॥ अन्धादितो<sup>(८)</sup>  
तुमं स्वरौ<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

॥ 30 ॥ <sup>(१०)</sup>मद् मज्झ<sup>(११)</sup> ङसि ॥ ३० ॥

अस्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मद् मज्झ<sup>(१२)</sup> भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ मद्  
शीलं<sup>(१३)</sup> । मज्झ गुणा<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अहम्<sup>(१५)</sup> आसि ॥ ३१ ॥

अस्मद<sup>(१६)</sup> आसि परे अहम्<sup>(१६)</sup> भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अहम्<sup>(१६)</sup> चिय  
ते दोषा<sup>(१७)</sup> ॥

॥ 31<sup>a</sup> ॥ ॥ C D ॥ ३१<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ I. ॥ इति चंडकते प्राकृतलक्षणे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

\* C मद्भक्तो । सत् ॥ † C मम शीलं<sup>(१८)</sup> । मम गुणा ॥ ‡ B अस्माकन्ते दोषा. ॥

(१) A °दम् ॥ (२) C D मद्भक्तो, B भक्तो om स; A ने सए भवत (see 1, 27).  
(३) A मद्भक्तो, B C D मद्भक्तो ॥ (४) A श्रूर, B places it before तुम, D adds  
Skr translation त्व श्रूर ॥ (५) A अन्धादितो ॥ (६) B °द ॥ (७) A B C om  
(८) A अन्धादितो, B अन्धा ॥ (९) A श्रूरो ॥ (१०) B om sūtra and comment,  
but gives the examples (११) A मज्झ, C D मज्झौ ॥ (१२) A शील, C D add  
मज्झ शील । मद् गुणा ॥ (१३) B शील ॥ (१४) D अहम् ॥ (१५) B C D °द ॥  
(१६) D अहम् ॥ (१७) B दोषा, C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते  
दोषा. ॥ (१८) MS. सिल ॥

## ॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1<sup>a</sup> ॥ D ॥ १<sup>अ</sup> ॥॥ 1 ॥ 1 ॥ स्वराणां स्वरे<sup>(१)</sup> प्रकृतिलोपसंघयः ॥ १ ॥

स्वराणां स्वरे परे<sup>(२)</sup> <sup>(१)</sup>प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संघयश् च भवन्ति । \*इह<sup>(३)</sup>  
 अच्कति<sup>(४)</sup> । †इहक्कति<sup>(५)</sup> । ‡इहागतो<sup>(६)</sup> ॥ †मह<sup>(७)</sup> इव हितो ।  
 ॥देविंदवंदितो<sup>(८)</sup> । ॥सक्तीसाणा<sup>(१०)</sup> ॥ \*\*स ईसरो<sup>(११)</sup> । ††तियसीसो<sup>(१२)</sup> ।  
 ‡‡गहेसो<sup>(१३)</sup> ॥ ††चंदुज्जला<sup>(१४)</sup> । ॥तपोपरोहो ॥ <sup>(१५)</sup>सा ऊढा ।  
 ॥नीसासूसासा<sup>(१६)</sup> । \*\*\*मोरो<sup>(१७)</sup> ॥ ††गामत्रो<sup>(१८)</sup> गामो ॥

\* C इह अच्कइ । प्रकृति । अच तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । खरो० (11, 4) इत्युच्यते  
 अकारस्य इ भवति (इच) । रेफ० (111, 9 इत) । प्रथम० (111, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य  
 यकार (इय) । पुन प्रथम० (111, 11) इत्यनेन यकारस्य धकार (इध) । हो० (111, 13 इह) ।  
 इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति<sup>(१९)</sup> । कगचज० (111, 34 इयति) । खरो० (11, 4) इत्यनेन  
 इकारस्य अकार (अयति) । पाट (111, 8 अयति) । रश्पा० (111, 18 अयति) । सस्य खह्वा  
 (111, 14 अयति) । लोपे० (111, 24) तस्मिन् (111, 26 अयति) । पुन कगचज० (111,  
 34 अच्कइ) ॥ † B C अच अकारस्य लोप ॥ ‡ B इहागत । C सधि । अच आगत ॥  
 § B मख इव हित ॥ ॥ C लोपः । देवेन्द्रवन्दित ॥ ॥ B शक्रस्य<sup>(२०)</sup> ईशानस्य । अलोप ॥  
 C लोप । शक्र अग्रे ईशान । द्विवयणे वज्रवयणे (see 11, 12) । शक्रस्य ईशानस्य  
 शक्रेशानो ॥ \*\* B स ईश्वर । C सधि । शचा ईश्वर । शचीश्वर ॥ †† C लोप । विदश  
 अग्रे ईश । विदशेश । विदशाना ईश ॥ ‡‡ C सधि । ग्रहाणा ईशः ॥ §§ C लोप ।  
 चद्र अग्रे उज्जला । चद्रवत् उज्जला ॥ ||| B तपस उपरोध । C सधि । तपोपरोध ॥  
 ॥ B नि आसस्य उच्चासस्य । अलोप । C लोप । (११) नि आसस्य उच्चासस्य । नि आसो-  
 ष्ठासौ ॥ \*\*\* C सधि । मोरो । मयूरः ॥ ††† B ग्रामत ग्राम । C गामाउ गामो । प्रकृति ।  
 गामो गामो । सधि । ग्रामात् ग्राम । but see note to translation

(१) B om (२) B C D परत ॥ (३) So A B, C D प्रकृतिलोपसंघयश्च ॥ (४) A  
 has only the examples marked \* and §, om all others, B places \*, §, †, ‡  
 (५) A अच्कई, B C D अच्कइ ॥ (६) B C D इहक्कइ ॥ (७) B इहागत, C इहागसो, D  
 इहागज ॥ (८) A महई वदित, B महइवदित्य (see marginal gloss), C D om this  
 example (९) B ०दिक्, D ०दिउ, A C om (see 11, 2) (१०) B ०शाणे, A om.  
 (११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om (१२) B तीसो, A om (१३) B गहसो, A om  
 (१४) B वदज्जला, A om (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D भाउढा or डाउढा (१६) ॥  
 (१७) So B, A om, C D णीसा० ॥ (१८) C D add मकरो ॥ (१९) B गामानामो । गामो  
 गामाक गामो, C गामाउ गामो, D गामाउ गामो ॥ (२०) So MS and accordingly  
 the explanation पाट ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रस्य ईशानस्य ॥ (२१) MS नि आ०, उखा० ॥

बुद्धी<sup>(१)</sup> इमा\* । बुद्धिदो<sup>(२)</sup> । बुद्धीसो† ॥ बुद्धीओ<sup>(३)</sup> । नईओ<sup>(४)</sup> ॥

॥ 1<sup>b</sup> ॥ D ॥ १<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 1<sup>c</sup> ॥ D ॥ १<sup>c</sup> ॥

॥ 2 ॥ <sup>(४)</sup>संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

<sup>(४)</sup>संयोगे परे खरे परतः पूर्वखरख<sup>(५)</sup> नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ धनाब्धः<sup>(६)</sup>  
धनड्डो<sup>(७)</sup> । देव इन्द्रः<sup>(८)</sup> देविंदो । छत उद्योगः<sup>(९)</sup> कतुज्जोओ<sup>(१०)</sup> ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

खराणां ह्रस्वं<sup>(११)</sup> भवति । <sup>(१२)</sup>संयोगेऽक्षरे<sup>(१३)</sup> परे ॥ <sup>(१४)</sup>कज्जं<sup>(१५)</sup> ।  
कज्जं । ॥इच्छितं<sup>(१६)</sup> । तिक्खं ॥ \*\*सिग्घो<sup>(१७)</sup> । †उड्डु<sup>(१८)</sup> । सुज्जो<sup>(१९)</sup> ॥

॥ 4 ॥ खरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥ ४ ॥

\* C बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृति ॥ † B बुद्धीन्द्र । C लोप । बुद्धि इद्र ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीसो ।  
सधि ॥ § C प्रकृति । बुद्धय । नय ॥ ॥ B ईप्सित । C इच्छिच्च । ईप्सित ॥ शे वर्गाच्च  
(III, 4 ईप्सित) । सस्य० (III, 14 ईप्सित) । लोपो० (III, 24) तस्मिन्० (III, 26 ईप्सित) ।  
ह्रस्वं (II, 3 इच्छित) । कगच्चज० (III, 34 इच्छिच्च) ॥ ¶ C तौक्ष्ण । वर्णविशेषे । छते  
सति क् प् ण् अ इति स्थिता भवन्ति । रश्मपा० (III, 18 तौक्ष्ण) । शाच्च० (III, 6 तौक्ष्ण) ।  
शे० (III, 4 तौक्ष्ण) । सस्य० (III, 14 तौक्ष्ण) । लोपो० (III, 24) तस्मिन् (III, 26 तौक्ष्ण) ।  
ह्रस्वं (II, 3 तिक्ख) ॥ \*\* B सिग्घ । †† B उड्ड ॥

(१) B D बु० here and afterwards (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal  
gloss) (३) B prefixes एव बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरि ॥ (५) A पूर्वखरूपस्य ॥  
(६) A ओड्डु, B ओय ॥ (७) A धनाड्डो, B धनड्डो, C D धणड्डो ॥ (८) B देवेन्द्र ॥ (९) A  
उद्यो, C D उद्योत ॥ (१०) A कतुज्जो, B C कउज्जोओ, D कउज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes  
पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाक्षरे ॥ (१४) C  
prefixes धणड्डो (see II, 2), C D prefix the Skt translations काय । कार्य । ईप्सित ।  
तौक्ष्ण । शीघ्र । कर्द्ध । स्वर्य ; see also B in the marginal gloss (१५) B कज्ज ॥  
(१६) A B C D इच्छिच्च ॥ (१७) A om this and the remaining examples, C  
सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्ड (see III, 5 9), C D उड्ड ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

खरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ \*कातव्वं<sup>(१)</sup> । †सुदणं<sup>(२)</sup> । इंगाला<sup>(३)</sup> ।  
B C D । ‡बुद्धीए<sup>(४)</sup> । घेनूए<sup>(५)</sup> । नेपुरं<sup>(६)</sup> । B C D । कुत्रापि गच्छति<sup>(७)</sup>  
कत्थं<sup>(८)</sup> पि गच्छति<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

॥ ५ ॥ खरा<sup>(१०)</sup> रि च ऋवर्णस्य<sup>(११)</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने खरा<sup>(१२)</sup> भवति । रि च भवति<sup>(१३)</sup> ॥ घृतं घतं<sup>(१४)</sup> ।  
हत्वा कातव्वं<sup>(१५)</sup> । दृश्यते दीसते<sup>(१६)</sup> । ऋषिः<sup>(१७)</sup> इमि<sup>(१८)</sup> । पृथ्वी  
पुथ्वी<sup>(१९)</sup> । वृद्धः<sup>(२०)</sup> बुद्धो<sup>(२१)</sup> । वृंतं<sup>(२२)</sup> वेंटं<sup>(२३)</sup> । उल्लहं उल्लोसं<sup>(२४)</sup> ।  
ऋणं रिणं । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ (२५)एर ऐतः ॥ ६ ॥

ऐतः<sup>(२६)</sup> स्थाने ए भवति ॥ ‡वेतव्वो<sup>(२७)</sup> । तेल्लं<sup>(२८)</sup> । सेंधवं ।  
॥ वैरं<sup>(२९)</sup> ॥

॥ ७ ॥ अइ च ॥ ७ ॥

\* B कर्त्तव्य ॥ † B सूचीना (२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्धा ॥ § B वेताल ॥ ॥ C मस वैर  
केनापि सच्च न ॥

(१) A कायच, B कायच, C कायव्व, D कायव्व (see III, 29 and Lassen Inst  
Prac pp 141 365), CD add the following Skr translations कर्त्तव्य । खजन ।  
अगारा, see also B in the marginal gloss (२) A असुदण, D खदण ॥ (३) A  
इंगाल, B इंगाली ॥ (४) A B D बु०, D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D घेणूए ॥ (६) A  
नेपुर, B नेऊर, C ऐवर, D ऐउर ॥ (७) A om (८) A om, B कत्थं पि, D कच्छ  
वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B खरो ॥ (११) B om (१२) B reads अन्यखरो  
भवति ॥ (१३) A om (१४) A B C D घत ॥ (१५) A कातव्व, B काडुण, C D काऊण,  
D adds वूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसए ॥ (१७) So C, A B D ऋषि ॥  
(१८) So A B C D, CD add व्यास ऋषिः वास इसी ॥ (१९) A B C D पुथ्वी ॥ (२०) A  
B C D वृद्धो ॥ (२१) A B बुद्धो, C D बुद्धो ॥ (२२) A B D वृत्त ॥ (२३) A विट, B वित,  
C D विट ॥ (२४) A उल्लोस, B उल्लोसो, C उल्ल । स, D उल्लस (see III, 8) (२५) A  
एरेत ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेयव्वो, B वेयव्वो, C D वेयव्वो, C D prefix the Skr  
translations वेताल । तेल्ल । सेंधव । वैर, see also B in marg gloss (२८) A  
तेल ॥ (२९) C D add मज्झ ए केण वि (see marg gloss) (३०) MS सूचीना ॥



ऐतः<sup>(१)</sup> स्थाने अद्<sup>(२)</sup> च<sup>(३)</sup> भवति । ऐत्यर्थ<sup>(४)</sup> अद्मरिचं<sup>(५)</sup> । वैर<sup>(६)</sup> वद्<sup>(७)</sup> ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर्<sup>(८)</sup> औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः<sup>(८)</sup> स्थाने ओ<sup>(१०)</sup> भवति ॥ <sup>(११)</sup>ओसह<sup>(१२)</sup> । <sup>(१३)</sup>सोवचलं<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥

॥ 9 ॥ अउ<sup>(१५)</sup> च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः<sup>(८)</sup> स्थाने अउ च<sup>(१६)</sup> भवति ॥ <sup>(१७)</sup>सउरो<sup>(१८)</sup> । कउरवा । कउला । (CD) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्गलोपा<sup>(१९)</sup> विसर्जनीचस्य<sup>(२०)</sup> ॥ १० ॥

एत्ओत्त्रलोपा<sup>(२१)</sup> विसर्जनीचस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ कतरे<sup>(२२)</sup> गच्छति<sup>(२३)</sup> । \*दित्तरूपे<sup>(२४)</sup> । देवो । विंभणो । पुणरपि<sup>(२५)</sup> । स<sup>(२६)</sup> । एस<sup>(२६)</sup> । <sup>(२७)</sup>वति<sup>(२६)</sup> । बुद्धि<sup>(२८)</sup> । वृद्ध<sup>(२९)</sup> ।

॥ 11 ॥ <sup>(३०)</sup>अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपौ च व्यंजनस्य<sup>(३१)</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

\* C दीप्तरूप ॥ † C ब्राह्मण ॥ ‡ C पुणरपि । (पुन अपि) । र प्रत्यय (ii, 10 पुनरपि) । अथ्यलोप छलोप (ii, 18 पुनरपि) । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 यणरवि) ॥ § C वधू ॥

(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अद् ॥ (३) C om B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐत्यर्थ ॥ (५) B CD ०रिच ॥ (६) D वैर ॥ (७) B om , C D add the example वै वद्, whereto C has the marg gloss वै स्फुटनिश्चययो ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B औत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref Shr औपथ D कपथ ॥ (१२) A ऊसह, D उसह ॥ (१३) C pref Shr औचल, D औवर्चल ॥ (१४) A सोवचल, C सोचल, D सोथचल . C D add the example औथ सोह ॥ (१५) B औथो ॥ (१६) B C om (१७) C D pret Shr और । कौरवा । कौला ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A ०प, D ०पा, B (corrupt) एदोदले ॥ या ॥ (२०) B ०नीयस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो दलोपा ॥ (२२) A कपोरे, B कयादि, C D read कयरे and pref Shr कतर गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छद्, B C D गच्छद्, C D add the example अत पुर । अनेउर ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूपे, B तित्तरूपे, D दित्तरूपे, C adds वीलजिणे (in marg gloss वौरजिन ), D बालजिणे ॥ (२५) D पुणरपि, C D pref Shr पुन अपि, A om this example, B adds एत दिङ् (MS एय दिङ्) ॥ (२६) A om (२७) B C D वद्, C adds Shr पति, D पति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धौ, D बुद्धौ, C had originilly बुद्धौ, now it has been changed to वधू, B C D place वद्ध ॥ बुद्धौ ॥ (२९) A वद्ध, B वद्ध ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om च ॥ (३१) A विञ्जनस्य ॥

(<sup>१</sup>) अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपो च व्यंजनस्य भवन्ति ॥ \*अरहन्तो(<sup>२</sup>) ।  
मरिताण(<sup>३</sup>) । (CD) ॥ कर्म(<sup>४</sup>) । (CD) । ऐसीस(<sup>५</sup>) ॥ नह(<sup>६</sup>) ।  
॥ सिरिण(<sup>७</sup>) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ गदित्वं वज्रवचने(<sup>८</sup>) ॥ १२ ॥

(<sup>९</sup>) दिवचनं वज्रवचनेन(<sup>१०</sup>) वाच्यं ॥ \*\*इत्या । पाया । देवा ।  
वंभणा(<sup>११</sup>) । CD ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच्(<sup>१२</sup>) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच्(<sup>१२</sup>) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ †नमो(<sup>१३</sup>) जिनस्स(<sup>१४</sup>) । नमो(<sup>१५</sup>)  
गुरुणो(<sup>१६</sup>) ॥

॥ 13<sup>a</sup> ॥ CD ॥ १३<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 13<sup>b</sup> ॥ CD ॥ १३<sup>b</sup> ॥

\* C अर्हन् । अदागम ॥ † B सरित् इति अत्र तकारस्य अच् आगम ॥ C सरित् ।  
अदागम ॥ ‡ B कर्मन्निति अत्र रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic<sup>१</sup>) ॥ C कर्मन् ॥ § B  
श्रीपमित्यत्र रेफलोप (sic<sup>१</sup>) ॥ C गिरस् ॥ ॥ B गिरसि(१७) सलोपः ॥ C गिरस ॥ ¶ C  
दुवयणे(१८) वज्रवयण चत्तित्वविभक्तौ ए ऋद्धौ(१९) भणए । जह हत्य तह पाया । वदामि  
देवाह(२०) देवाण ॥ \*\* C हसौ । पादौ । देवौ । ब्राह्मणौ ॥ †† B नमो जिनाय इति  
नमो गुरवे इत्यत्र चतुर्थी षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरवे ॥

(१) A adds भवन्ति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाथ ॥ (२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (३)  
A सरियाण, B C D सरियाण ॥ (४) B adds रम्म (सम्म?, see App C D), D  
prefixes कर्मन्, श्रीर्षन्, गिरसा to कर्म, सीस, सिरिण respectively (५) A सीम ॥  
(६) B नेह, A C D om (७) A om (८) C D वज्रवचनेन ॥ (९) C D prefix  
सर्वासा स्यादीनां त्यादीना च विभक्तौना ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) A वम्भणा (see II, 15)  
(१२) B C D om (१३) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (१४) C D एमो ॥ (१५) A जिणस्स, B  
जिनस्स, C D जिणस्स ॥ (१६) C D add एमो अरहन्ताण ॥ (१७) MS गिरसि ॥ (१८)  
MS दुव्व० ॥ (१९) MS now has चत्तित्वविभक्तौ, om ऋद्धौ, but in the place of त्वि  
and त्ति there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with  
yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाहि (cf. I, 5).

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतडञ्जाः<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ १४ ॥

(१) सुता वर्णाः (२) डकारञ्कारौ च<sup>(४)</sup> न भवन्ति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो वज्रं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य कचिल् लोपो भवति । कचिद् आगमः<sup>(५)</sup> । कचित् प्रकृतिः<sup>(६)</sup> ।  
 । C D ॥ वंभणा<sup>(७)</sup> । \*मंजरो<sup>(८)</sup> । विंचुओ<sup>(९)</sup> । चिंन्नी<sup>(१०)</sup> । काणं<sup>(११)</sup> ।  
 काहं<sup>(१२)</sup> । नईहिं<sup>(१३)</sup> ॥ सक्कतं<sup>(१४)</sup> । (C D) ॥ संगो<sup>(१५)</sup> । भंगो<sup>(१६)</sup> ।  
 (C D) । दुद्धं<sup>(१७)</sup> । समिद्धं<sup>(१८)</sup> ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि<sup>(१९)</sup> ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि<sup>(१९)</sup> इति<sup>(१८)</sup> भवति निपातेन ॥ गेगावी<sup>(१९)</sup> ।  
 गावीओ<sup>(१०)</sup> । गावीं<sup>(११)</sup> । गावीए<sup>(१२)</sup> । गावीहिं<sup>(१३)</sup> । गावीहितो<sup>(१४)</sup> ।  
 गावीणं<sup>(१५)</sup> । गावीसुं<sup>(१६)</sup> ॥

\* C माळारः ॥ † C चूर्णं (cf note १०) ‡ C सक्कत ॥ § C गौ । गावः or गा ।  
 गां । गवा । गे । गोः । गवि (see 1, 9) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवा or गोना । गोपु ॥

(१) C D insert न (see III, 16) (२) C सुतवर्णा, D सुता ॥ (३) C D read  
 डकारनकारञकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ (४) B om (५) C D नो भवति ॥ (६) C D  
 प्रकृतिर्भवति (see App) (७) D वंभणा ॥ (८) So A, B मंजरो (see H C II, 132),  
 C D read मञ्जारो (see H. C I, 26) and add वज्जरो (see H C II, 132), D  
 further adds आगम ॥ (९) A om, B विंचुओ, D has विंचुओ with प्रकृति after it,  
 C reads विंचुओ which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंचुकः । प्रकृति ॥  
 (१०) A चुन्नी, B चुन्नी, C चुन्नी, D चुन्नी ॥ (११) So A, B काणं (कावूण ? see II,  
 5), C D काणं (see H C I, 27) (१२) A काहं, B काह (कातु ? see Lassen,  
 p 365 H C IV, 214) (१३) C D एहि, D gives it as an example of लोप,  
 C explains it in the marginal gloss as नही, originally the gloss had नहि,  
 but it has been corrected to नही ॥ (१४) A om, B C D सक्कत ॥ (१५) C D om.,  
 but see App (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपात्यते, C D  
 इत्य आदेशो भवति ॥ (१९) B गावि, C D गाई ॥ (२०) A गावीक, B गाविओ, D गावीओ;  
 C D add गावीओ । गावी । (२१) A B om (२२) A D गावीए, B गाविए ॥ (२३) A  
 गावीहि, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीण ॥ (२५) D गावीसु, C D add गावीसु ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एवार्थे <sup>(१)</sup>एदचेयचियाः<sup>(२)</sup> ॥ १७ ॥

<sup>(१)</sup>एव शब्दार्थे एद <sup>(२)</sup>चेय चिय एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ गत्या एव  
<sup>(३)</sup>गति एद । <sup>(४)</sup>मति एद । \*तं चेय<sup>(५)</sup> । †सचिय<sup>(६)</sup> ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अयस्योर् अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि असि च<sup>(१)</sup> एतयोर् अस्य लोपो भवति<sup>(२)</sup> ॥ <sup>(३)</sup>सूरो पि ।  
<sup>(४)</sup>कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ <sup>(१)</sup>त्तु ता खा हु चुं त्त्तु<sup>(२)</sup> ओ<sup>(३)</sup>प्पि<sup>(४)</sup>पूर्वकालार्थे<sup>(५)</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

एते<sup>(१)</sup> पूर्वकालार्थे<sup>(२)</sup> भवन्ति ॥ वंदित्तु<sup>(३)</sup> । †वदित्ता<sup>(४)</sup> । †सुच्चा<sup>(५)</sup> ।  
॥ कट्टु । †भोत्तु<sup>(६)</sup> । †भोत्तूण<sup>(७)</sup> । †वदिओ<sup>(८)</sup> । <sup>(९)</sup>एवं कप्पि\*\* ।  
C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ सत्वर्थे <sup>(१)</sup>आलद्धौ<sup>(२)</sup> ॥ २० ॥

\* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वदित्ता ॥ § B शुक्ला । C भुक्ता ( see note १९  
॥ B C छत्ता ॥ † C भुक्ता<sup>(२८)</sup> \*\* B एव छत्ता ॥

(१) A B नद० ॥ (२) A ०वेप विच, B ०चियेस् ॥ (३) B एव ॥ (४) A B C D गइ ॥  
(५) A C मइ एद, B मई एद, D om whole example, C prefixes Skr सत्या एव ॥  
(६) A तमेव, D त चेय, C pref Skr त एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B, A ०विच (चिय ?  
see p 20, note १६), C ०चिय, D ०चेय, C D pref Skr स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर्  
अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि, C D pref Skr transl प्रर  
अपि । कतम् अपि । तम् असि अच ॥ (११) A कच पि, B कच प्पि, C D कच वि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥  
(१३) C D add तुच्चाण ॥ (१४) D छ, C D add वि ॥ (१५) C D om, but add प्पिणु  
वेप्पिणु ॥ (१६) So A, B C D om (१७) B D om (१८) B C पूर्वकालार्थे, C adds  
त्वा इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (१९) A वदित्तु, B वदित्तु, C D add सत्वे वि जिणिंदचदे ।  
वदित्ता सर्वान् अपि जिनेद्रचद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वदित्ता ॥ (२१) A सुच्चा, C D भुक्ता ॥ (२२) D  
भोत्तु ॥ (२३) C भोत्तूण, D भोत्तूण or भोत्तुण ? , C D add काउच्चाण, see App (२४)  
A वदित्तु, D वदित्तु, C D add वदेवि ॥ (२५) A एव क०, B एव क०, C D om this  
example (२६) A आल D अल ॥ (२७) A दल, B दल ॥ (२८) MS भोक्ता ।

मत्वर्थे<sup>(१)</sup> एतौ प्रत्ययौ<sup>(२)</sup> भवतः<sup>(३)</sup> ॥ <sup>(४)</sup>जडालो<sup>(५)</sup> जडिल्लो<sup>(६)</sup> ।  
फडालो<sup>(७)</sup> फडिल्लो<sup>(८)</sup> । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ताताव<sup>(९)</sup> तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् कन्दस्य<sup>(१०)</sup> ता तावौ<sup>(११)</sup> भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता\* विच्छिन्नं<sup>(१२)</sup> गयणं ताव च्चि<sup>(१३)</sup> जलहिणो<sup>(१४)</sup> पि<sup>(१५)</sup> गभीरा ।

ता<sup>(१६)</sup>†गुरुआ<sup>(१७)</sup>सुरसेला<sup>(१८)</sup>धारेहि<sup>(१९)</sup>न<sup>(२०)</sup>जाव लिज्जते<sup>(२१)</sup>॥२॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिवइवविवविय<sup>(२२)</sup>व्व<sup>(२३)</sup>वज्झा<sup>(२४)</sup> वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे<sup>(२५)</sup> वतः<sup>(२६)</sup> शब्दस्य एते आदेशा अवति ॥ †चंदणं<sup>(२७)</sup>

पिव । चमरमिव । क्लमलं विव तुज्झ<sup>(२८)</sup> सुहं । गिन्हो<sup>(२९)</sup> विय ।

सायरव्व<sup>(३०)</sup> ।

\* C तावत् विलीर्णं गगनं तावत् एव जलधय च गभीरा । यावत् गुरुः सुरगैल धारामि । न यावत् गच्छते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरु । एदोद्र० (u, 10 गुरुआ) । खरो० (u, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चदण । अनुस्वारो घञल (u, 15) § C तव मुख कमलवत् (२१) ॥

(१) B om, C D add आल इल ॥ (२) A om (३) A स्य ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr translations जडमान् । फडवान् ॥ (५) A जडालो ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places ६, ५ (७) A फडालो, B orig फडालो, but corrected to फडालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो placing ८, ७ (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add यावच्छब्दस्य तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वच्छिन्न, C D विच्छिन्न ॥ (१३) A च्चि, C D विय ॥ (१४) B जपहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा, A om this line (१७) D गदथा ॥ (१८) B सुरसेला ॥ (१९) B धीरेहि, c m (२०) C D ए ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्जति, C D जाव लिज्जति ॥ (२२) B विय ॥ (२३) D व्व (see H C u, 150) (२४) B वज्झा (sic) (२५) A om, C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे, B adds पिव इव विव विय व्व व ज्झा ॥ (२६) A वच् इ०, C वतु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B व०, C D prefix the Skr translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS चमर वत्) । कमलवत् । गीष्मवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषस्य वत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्झ, B तुम्भ ॥ (२९) C गिन्ह, D गिन्ह ॥ (३०) D सायरव्व, A अद्योपदस्य, B घोदघो ॥ (३१) MS कमल विव ॥

सेमत्सु व<sup>(१)</sup> \* एम्<sup>(२)</sup> फणो तुह<sup>(३)</sup> भाति<sup>(४)</sup> जसो जहा मंखो<sup>(५)</sup> ॥

॥ 23 ॥ श्रीलम्<sup>(६)</sup> अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अवअपयोः स्याने ओ<sup>(७)</sup> भवति ॥ अवहसितं<sup>(८)</sup> ओहसितं<sup>(९)</sup> ।  
अपसरितं<sup>(१०)</sup> ओसरितं<sup>(११)</sup> । अपवरकः<sup>(१२)</sup> ओवरओ<sup>(१३)</sup> ॥

॥ 24 ॥ खलोः<sup>(१४)</sup> सुः ॥ २४ ॥

खलुशब्दस्य सुरु आदेशो भवति ॥ C D । एवं खु<sup>(१५)</sup> जंतपीलणं ॥  
॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे<sup>(१६)</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे<sup>(१७)</sup> आन प्रत्ययम्<sup>(१८)</sup> तस्यार्थे तकारो भवति ॥  
भिद्यमानं<sup>(१९)</sup> भिज्जंतं । कय्यमानं कयिज्जंतं<sup>(२०)</sup> । साध्यमानं<sup>(२१)</sup>  
साहिज्जंतं<sup>(२२)</sup> । A ॥

॥ 26 ॥ <sup>(२३)</sup>सं सर्वासु युगाद ॥ २६ ॥

<sup>(२४)</sup>युग्मच् छब्दस्य सर्वासु<sup>(२५)</sup> विभक्तिषु<sup>(२६)</sup> भे<sup>(२७)</sup> भवति ॥ C D । भे  
निमासेय<sup>(२८)</sup> यूचं निगम्यत<sup>(२९)</sup> । C D । भे भणामि युगान् भणामि ।  
भे कतं<sup>(३०)</sup> त्वया कृत । C D ॥

\* C एय (फण) तय भाति यशः शंखत्(२१) ॥ † C खलु इति अय्य निश्चयार्थे ॥  
‡ C अचपीलन ॥

(१) A च ॥ (२) C येस ॥ (३) A रुह ॥ (४) A B C D भाद ॥ (५) D सख; C D  
place सखो जहा c m (६) A B D उलम् ॥ (७) B ओह ॥ (८) B C अवहसित ॥ (९)  
A B ओहसित, C ओहसित, D उहसित, B adds अपहसित ओहसित ॥ (१०) B om  
(११) A B C ओसरित, D उसरित ॥ (१२) A अववरकः, B अपचक ॥ (१३) B ओच-  
रयो, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्ज । पीलण ॥ (१६) A ०माने  
ये ॥ (१७) C D om. कालः । B ०मानस्य कालार्थ ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थ, om स ॥  
(१९) A भिद्यमाण, B भिद्यमान, C भेद्य ॥ (२०) A काहिं, B C D कहिं ॥ (२१) B  
om ०९ B सोहिं ॥ (२२) C D place this sūtra after 1, 25 (2. c after 1, 25<sup>b</sup> of  
their own reckoning, see App C D). (२३) B युगाद शं ॥ (२४) B C D add  
अपि ॥ (२५) A adds परतो ॥ (२६) B भेह ॥ (२७) C D पिं ॥ (२८) So D, A B C  
ग्रहणत ॥ (२९) A B कृत, C D कथ ॥ (३०) Mb सं ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१) अस्मादो ऽपि(१) ॥ २७ ॥

अस्माच् छब्दस्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु भे भवति(१) ॥ C D । C ।  
नेहेन(४) भणामो भे तुम्हे(५) वयं युष्मान् स्नेहेन(६) भणामः । C । इत्यु  
अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27<sup>१</sup>—27<sup>१</sup> ॥ C D ॥ २७<sup>१</sup>—२७<sup>१</sup> ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय(७) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे क्षणः(८) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे(९) क्षणः(१०) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११) गामक्षणां । नयर्क्षणां(१२) ॥

॥ 29<sup>१</sup> ॥ C D ॥ २९<sup>१</sup> ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (१३) अचङ्कृतप्राकृतलक्षणे(१४) (१५) स्वरविधानं(१६) द्वितीयं  
समाप्तं(१७) ॥ २ ॥

(१) C D place this sūtra after 1, 31 (i e after 1, 31<sup>a</sup> of then own reckoning, see App C D) (२) C D add भे सर्व्वास्तु ॥ (३) A om the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्ट ॥ (४) C D स्नेहेन ॥ (५) B भ नुभे ॥ (६) B om (७) A इय ॥ (८) A B क्षण ॥ (९) A भावार्थे ॥ (१०) A क्षण, B तन ॥ (११) C D pref the Skr translations ग्रामस्य भाव । नगरस्य भावः ॥ (१२) B C D नयः, C D add तीर्थंकरस्य भाव तित्थयरक्षण ॥ (१३) A om from श्री to लक्षणे ॥ (१४) B लक्षणे ॥ (१५) B om. स्वर ॥ (१६) A ध्यानसाह ॥ (१७) A om.

## ॥ III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ 1 ॥ हाद्<sup>(१)</sup> यवौ<sup>(२)</sup> लोप्यौ<sup>(३)</sup> ॥ १ ॥

(<sup>४</sup>) हात् हकारात् (<sup>५</sup>) यकारवकारौ परत्र<sup>(६)</sup> अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥  
 मुह्यते मुञ्जते<sup>(७)</sup> । दह्यते<sup>(८)</sup> दज्जते<sup>(९)</sup> । (<sup>१०</sup>) विकलः विभलो<sup>(११)</sup> ।  
 जिक्का<sup>(१२)</sup> जिब्बा<sup>(१३)</sup> ॥

॥ 2 ॥ (<sup>१४</sup>) श्वलेभ्यो व्यंजनं<sup>(१५)</sup> ॥ २ ॥

श्वलेभ्यः<sup>(१६)</sup> परं<sup>(१७)</sup> व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ (<sup>१८</sup>) स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं<sup>(१९)</sup>  
 सगं । ओतयं सोतव्यं<sup>(२०)</sup> । कायं कव्यं<sup>(२१)</sup> । शल्यं<sup>(२२)</sup> सलं । विल्यं<sup>(२३)</sup>  
 विलं । शग्यं<sup>(२४)</sup> सग्यं । अतं सुतं<sup>(२५)</sup> । श्लेष्मा सिष्मा<sup>(२६)</sup> ॥

॥ 3 ॥ वर्गे<sup>(२७)</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गे<sup>(२८)</sup> च परे तल् लोप्यं<sup>(२९)</sup> भवति<sup>(३०)</sup> ॥ शक्तः<sup>(३१)</sup> । सन्तो<sup>(३२)</sup> ॥ रक्तं<sup>(३३)</sup>  
 रक्तं<sup>(३४)</sup> । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वच्मि<sup>(३५)</sup> वेमि । (<sup>३६</sup>) षट् षट्<sup>(३७)</sup> ।

(१) A हा ॥ (२) A यौ ॥ (३) D लोप्यौ ॥ (४) A om comment हात् to भवतः ॥  
 (५) D om, C हादकाराद् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om, C D मुज्जते, A  
 मुज्जते ॥ (८) A B om (९) A om, B दह्यते, C दज्जते, D दज्जते ॥ (१०) A om  
 this example (११) B विकलः ॥ (१२) A om (१३) B जिब्बा ॥ (१४) C D स० ॥  
 (१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो, B om श्व० to भवति ॥ (१७) The examples  
 are rearranged, their order in A is २०, २१, २२, २५, om all the others, B has  
 २०, २१, १८, १९, २२, २३, २४, २५, २६, C D have १८, १९, २४, २०, २१, २२, २३, २६, om  
 २५ (see III, 9) (२०) A C सोतव्यं, B सोसध (corrupt for सोतव्यं), D सोतव्यं ॥ (२१)  
 A काव्यं, D कव्यं ॥ (२२) C D सल्यं ॥ (२३) A सोय, B सुय, C D om this example  
 (२४) C चिज्मा ॥ (२५) B om (२६) B वज्ज ॥ (२७) B लुप्यं ॥ (२८) B C D read  
 वर्गे परे यत् पूर्व व्यंजन तल् लो० भ० ॥ (२९) A सन्तो, B शक्तो ॥ (३०) B शक्तो, D सन्तो ॥  
 (३१) B adds मुक्तमुक्त, C D add मुक्तमुक्त ॥ (३२) B व० ॥ (३३) B षट् ॥



षट्पदः कृष्णो<sup>(१)</sup> । (२) खङ्गं खगं । षण्मुखः<sup>(२)</sup> कृष्णो<sup>(४)</sup> । आत्मा<sup>(५)</sup> अप्पा ।  
उत्पलं उप्पलं । सङ्गावं सङ्गावं । \*मन्मथः वमथो<sup>(६)</sup> । प्राप्तं पत्तं । \*प्रद्युम्नः  
पद्मो<sup>(७)</sup> । अर्कः अक्को । उक्ता उक्का । भास्करः भक्करो । B C D ।  
ब्रह्मा वन्हा<sup>(८)</sup> ॥

॥ ४ ॥ श्लो<sup>(९)</sup> वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं<sup>(१०)</sup> श्लो<sup>(९)</sup> परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृक्षः<sup>(११)</sup> वक्खो<sup>(१२)</sup> । (१३) क्षमा  
खमा । संवत्सरः सवक्करो । मत्सरः मक्करो । अप्सराः<sup>(१४)</sup> अक्करा ।  
द्रिप्सितं द्रिक्कित<sup>(१५)</sup> ॥

॥ ५ ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्ग्यं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं<sup>(१६)</sup> । (१७) शक्रः  
सक्को । (१८) क्षीवः कीवो । (१९) विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं<sup>(१९)</sup> । B C ॥

॥ ६ ॥ (२०) शाच् च पंचलो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः शपरश् च वर्गपंचलो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं नाणं<sup>(२१)</sup> ।  
(२२) यत्नं जत्तं<sup>(२२)</sup> । लक्ष्मणः<sup>(२३)</sup> लक्खणो । (२४) लक्ष्मी लक्खी । C D । B C D ।  
(२५) कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

\* C काम ॥ † C सूर्यः ॥

(१) B D कृष्ण, A om this and the following examples, except Nos ३, ५ and ८ ॥ (२) B षट्पदो षट्पदो ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A कृष्णो, B कृष्णो, B C D place ३, ४, २ ॥ (५) B आत्मा ॥ (६) B मन्मथो, C D वमथो ॥ (७) C D पद्मो, and add वर्गं वर्गो ॥ (८) A ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मा, B C D वमा ॥ (९) A C D शे, B से ॥ (१०) B C D add व्यंजन ॥ (११) A वृक्षो ॥ (१२) B वक्खो ॥ (१३) A om the remainder (१४) B अप्सरा, D अप्सरा ॥ (१५) C द्रिक्कित, B D द्रिक्कित ॥ (१६) A सुक्ख, B D सुक्खं ॥ (१७) B क्षीवो कीवो ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सिध्वं (acc sing of विधु सितः) (१९) B C D सिध्वं ॥ (२०) A C D शा, B स ष ॥ (२१) A B C D नाण (see III, 19). (२२) A om this example. (२३) B यत्त ॥ (२४) A लक्ष्मी, B लक्ष्मण ॥ (२५) B om this example. (२६) A कृष्ण कण्ह, B प्रणं पण्ह, C D प्रण पण्ह ॥

॥ ७ ॥ दो वे<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ ० ॥

दकारो <sup>(१)</sup>वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ द्वारं वारं । वेति किं ।  
द्वार<sup>(१)</sup> ॥

॥ ८ ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा<sup>(४)</sup> लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्थाष्टं उक्कोसं<sup>(५)</sup> ।  
(६)स्यष्टं फुटं<sup>(७)</sup> ॥ (८)पुट्टं । (९)उक्किट्टं ॥

॥ ९ ॥ <sup>(१०)</sup>रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

(११)सर्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्वस्य<sup>(११)</sup> च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तत्र  
तर्कं । अर्कः<sup>(१२)</sup> अक्को । मूर्खः सुक्खो<sup>(१३)</sup> । (१४)न्यग्रोधः निग्गोहो<sup>(१४)</sup> । स्वर्ग  
सग्गं । शीघ्रः सिग्घो<sup>(१५)</sup> । अर्धः अग्घो<sup>(१६)</sup> । अर्चनं<sup>(१७)</sup> अच्चणं । वज्रं वज्जं<sup>(१८)</sup> ।  
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उग्रः उट्ठो<sup>(१९)</sup> । सुवर्णं सुवणं । शत्रुः सत्तू<sup>(२०)</sup> । कर्त्तव्यं का-  
तव्वं<sup>(२१)</sup> । कर्दमं कट्ठमं । ऊर्ध्वं<sup>(२२)</sup> उट्ठं<sup>(२३)</sup> । प्रवरः<sup>(२४)</sup> पवरो<sup>(२५)</sup> । C D । सर्पः  
सप्पो । विभ्रमः विभ्रमो । दर्भः दब्भो । आस्रं अंसं<sup>(२६)</sup> । धर्मः धम्मो । खर्यः  
सुक्को । व्रतं वतं<sup>(२७)</sup> । पर्वतः पव्वतो<sup>(२८)</sup> । श्रुतं सुतं<sup>(२९)</sup> । इस्सः हस्सो । C D ॥

(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add द्वारं दुवार ॥ (४) B C om (५) C D उक्कोस (see III, 29 and App C D in III, 3), B उक्कोस ॥ (६) B स्यष्ट, C D om the remainder (७) B फुट ( ? फुड ) (८) A om, B places ट, ७ (९) A om, B उक्किट्ट, repeating उत्थाष्ट before it (१०) B om the sutra, A रेफश्, C D रेफ ॥ (११) B om commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्वस्य अथच ॥ (१३) A om this example, D places it before तर्क ॥ (१४) A मूर्खो, B मूर्खो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder (१६) C D निग्गो ॥ (१७) B शीघ्रो ॥ (१८) D adds अर्थ चत्थो ॥ (१९) B om, up to सुवण incl (२०) D repeats वज्ज ॥ (२१) C उट्ठो, and C D add दट्ठा डट्ठा ॥ (२२) B श्रु ॥ (२३) B C D कायव्व, and place this example before the preceding one (२४) B ओट्ठ, C D उट्ठ, but C has a marginal correction in pencil ऊट्ठ ॥ (२५) B ओट्ठ, C उट्ठ, D उट्ठ ॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवर ॥ (२७) B प्रवरो D पचरो ॥ (२८) B अच, C अच, D अच, (see H C II, 56) (२९) B वय, C D वय ॥ (३०) B C D पव्व श ॥ (३१) So B, C D सुच ॥

॥ 10 ॥ (१) असंयोगस्य ॥ ११ ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवन्ति ॥ गृहं घरं । स्तम्भः<sup>(१)</sup>  
खंभो ॥

॥ 11 ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने चयासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ<sup>(१)</sup>  
भवतः ॥ भास्वरः भक्खरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो<sup>(४)</sup> । (५) दुष्टं दुष्ट<sup>(६)</sup> । (५) स्तम्भः  
यंभो<sup>(७)</sup> । पुरुषं<sup>(८)</sup> फरुसं<sup>(९)</sup> । विच्यते<sup>(१०)</sup> विज्जते<sup>(११)</sup> । (५) दंष्ट्रा दाढा<sup>(१२)</sup> ।  
मधुरा मधुरा<sup>(१३)</sup> । नाथः नाधो<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥

॥ 11<sup>a</sup> ॥ C D ॥ ११<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 12 ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

(१५) प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थकरः<sup>(१६)</sup>  
तित्थगरो<sup>(१७)</sup> । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं<sup>(१८)</sup> । प्रति-  
विद्धं पडिसिद्धं<sup>(१९)</sup> । C D । (१०) प्रत्ये वुच्चे ॥

॥ 13 ॥ हो<sup>(२१)</sup> खघधभानां ॥ १३ ॥

(२२) खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां<sup>(२३)</sup> स्थाने हकारो भवति<sup>(२४)</sup> ॥

(१) C D om this sūtra and its commentary (२) A स्तम्भ, B स्तम्भो ॥ (३) B C D om (४) A निदुष्ट, B निदुक्क, C निदुक्को, D निदुक्क ॥ (५) A om this example (६) C D ०ट्टो ॥ (७) D adds खंभो (see iii, 10, 19) (८) A B C पुरुष, D पुरुष ॥ (९) A फरुसं, B पुरुस, C पुरिस, D परिसो, B C D add सुख सुह (see iii, 13) (१०) A विद्वये, B विज्यते, C D विच्यते ॥ (११) A B विज्जए, C D विज्जए, cf H C II, 28, and as to ज् for ऊक्, see p 20 footnote 28, p 10, n 7, p 27, n 13, p 30, n. 7 (१२) B ददा, C दाढा, D ददा ॥ (१३) A B C D सधुरा ॥ (१४) A णाधो, B नाधो, C D read आदिनाध आदणाधो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, स्पष्ट । पिशाची पिसाजी, om all the rest (१६) B तीर्थकर ॥ (१७) B तित्थगरो, D तित्थगरो ॥ (१८) B कर ॥ (१९) B प्रतिविद्ध ॥ (२०) Conjectural, B वच्चे, C D om this example (२१) C D om ख (see note ६ in iii, 11) (२२) C D om. खकार ॥ (२३) B ०भकार इत्येतेषा ॥ (२४) A om comm, up to भवति ॥

(१) मुखं मुहं । (२) मेघः मेहो । (३) मधवः महवो । वृषभः(४) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ सस्य(४) खक्खाः(५) ॥ १४ ॥

(६) सकारस्य स्थाने खक्खा(७) भवन्ति ॥ भिक्षा भिक्खा । षण्मुखः  
कुसुहो(८) । पाषाणः पाहाणो । दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ यस्य जः ॥ १५ ॥

(९) यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुवणं । सूर्यः सुजो ।  
यात्रा जत्ता ॥

॥ 15<sup>a</sup> ॥ C D ॥ १५<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः(१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निचं(११) ।  
(१) पथ्यं पच्छ(१२) । विद्या विज्जा । (२) बंध्या वंझा(१३) । नृत्यं नट्टं(१४) ।  
स्थितः ठितो(१५) । (१६) दंडः डंडो(१६) । दग्धः(१७) दड्डो(१८) । C D । धान्यं  
धण्यं(१९) । C D ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यस्य (२१) तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबन्धिना यकारस्य (२१) तकारो भवति(२२) ॥ तुम्हेहि(२३) ॥

॥ 17<sup>a</sup> ॥ C D ॥ १७<sup>a</sup> ॥

(१) C D om this example (see p 26, note ९ in iii, 11). (२) A om this example (३) A B वृषभो ॥ (४) B च खक्खा ॥ (५) A षण्मुखः ॥ (६) A has only सस्य । पाषाणो पाहाणो । दश दह, om the rest (७) B पक्खा ॥ (८) B D कुसुहो ॥ (९) A only यस्य, om the whole commentary (१०) A only सस्य, om up to भवतः ॥ (११) C D णिच ॥ (१२) B पक्खा with Skr पथा ॥ (१३) B D वंझा, C originally वंज्जा, with marginal correction ंज्जा ॥ (१४) C D नट्ट ॥ (१५) A ठिच, B C D ठिचो ॥ (१६) A om the remainder. (१७) B दडो, D दडो । (१८) B C दग्धो ॥ (१९) B ण्यो, C ण्यो, D ण्यो ॥ (२०) B धन्य, D धाण्य ॥ (२१) B मः ॥ (२२) A om. up to भवति ॥ (२३) A तुम्हेहि, B तुम्हेहि, C D add कय । युष्माभि. कर्तं ॥

॥ 18 ॥ रणधाराणां<sup>(१)</sup> छः ॥ १८ ॥

(१)रेफशकारषकाराणां<sup>(१)</sup> स्थाने (४)सकारो भवति ॥ शिरं<sup>(५)</sup> सीसं ।  
(६)शशी ससी<sup>(७)</sup> । आमिषं आमिस<sup>(७)</sup> ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजधानां रनखाः<sup>(८)</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

(१)हजधानां स्थाने रनखाः<sup>(८)</sup> भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं<sup>(९)</sup> ॥ गृहं घरं ।  
(७)ज्ञानं नानं<sup>(१०)</sup> । C D । (७)स्त्रंभः<sup>(११)</sup> खभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरद्वानां घणझाः<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥ २० ॥

(१२)गरद्वानां स्थाने घणझा<sup>(१४)</sup> भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं ॥ (७)गृहं घरं ।  
करवीरः<sup>(१५)</sup> कणवीरो<sup>(१६)</sup> । C D । (७)वाह्यः वज्झो<sup>(१६)</sup> । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडद्वानां<sup>(१७)</sup> वलभाः<sup>(१८)</sup> ॥ २१ ॥

(१८)मडद्वानां स्थाने<sup>(१७)</sup> यथाक्रमं वलभा भवन्ति<sup>(१९)</sup> ॥ मन्मथः<sup>(१९)</sup>  
वन्मथो<sup>(१९)</sup> । षोडश<sup>(२०)</sup> सोलस<sup>(२५)</sup> । (७)जिह्वा जिम्मा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ (१६)यवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

(१७)यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो<sup>(१८)</sup> भवति<sup>(१९)</sup> ॥ पर्य्यकः पल्लंको<sup>(२०)</sup> ।

(१) B ०ना ॥ (२) A only एषा ॥ (३) B ०सकारष० ॥ (४) A सस स्यात् ॥ (५) B शिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om this example (८) C D रण० ॥ (९) B C D om this clause (१०) B जान, C D णाण ॥ (११) D स्त्रंभः (Prākṛit यभो, see iii, 11) (१२) A घनसाः, B ०सा, D घण० ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्य भवति स्यात् ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणभा ॥ (१५) A ०वीर ॥ (१६) B वज्झो ॥ (१७) A B C D ०णा, but C with marginal correction ०ना ॥ (१८) B व० ॥ (१९) D ०ह्याणा, but B C ०ह्याना ॥ (२०) B D om (२१) A only स्यात्, om up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B ०यो ॥ (२३) A C वन्मथो, B मन्मथो, D वन्मथो ॥ (२४) B D ०श, A B ड for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलसः ॥ (२६) So A, B om sūtra, C D read यवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A, B यवयोर्, but C D यवयोर्, see below note २६ (२८) A व्यत्यास ॥ (२९) A स्यात्, in C D, here follows the example पाप पाव (see iii, 12 in App C D), after which comes a new sūtra रल्लयोर् व्यत्यास, to which are assigned पर्य्यक etc as examples (see App C D) (३०) A B ०क, C D add पर्य्याण पल्लण ॥

(१) वैदूर्यः<sup>(१)</sup> वेदुलियो<sup>(२)</sup> । त्रयोदश तेरह । <sup>(३)</sup>वृक्षः वक्खो<sup>(४)</sup> । C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ शहयोर्<sup>(५)</sup> लोपे नणमानान् अघो<sup>(६)</sup> होऽपदादौ<sup>(७)</sup> स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

नणमानां संबन्धिनौ यौ शह्यौ<sup>(८)</sup> तयोर् लोपे हकारागमो भवति ।

(९) अघो<sup>(१०)</sup>ऽपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्धो<sup>(११)</sup> । तण्णा तण्हा<sup>(१२)</sup> ।

यस्मात् जम्हा<sup>(१३)</sup> । B C D । C D । <sup>(१४)</sup>गृह्णाति गिण्हति<sup>(१५)</sup> । वज्जिः

वन्हौ<sup>(१६)</sup> । जिह्वाः जिन्हो<sup>(१७)</sup> । B । <sup>(१८)</sup>अपदादाव् इति किं । श्मशानं<sup>(१९)</sup>

ममानं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाचरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य<sup>(२०)</sup> द्वित्वं भवति<sup>(२१)</sup> ॥ <sup>(२२)</sup>दुर्गा दुग्गा ।

B C D । व्याघ्रः वग्घो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ <sup>(२३)</sup>क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

<sup>(२४)</sup>क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्वित्वं भवति ॥ न ज्ञायते न<sup>(२५)</sup> नज्जते<sup>(२६)</sup> ।

<sup>(२७)</sup>वाध्यते वाहिज्जते<sup>(२८)</sup> ॥

(१) A om this example (२) C D वैदूर्यः ॥ (३) B वेदुलियो, C वेवलियो, D वेवलिउ ॥ (४) D वक्खो ॥ (५) So B, A C D से ॥ (६) A om हो ॥ (७) Conjectural, the MSS reading is corrupt, B throws sūtra and commentary into one and reads श० लो० नण० अघो पदावस्थाना हो भवति, A has ऽपदावस्थानाना, C originally पदावस्थानाना, corrected in margin to ऽपदादावस्थानाना, D पदादावस्थानाना ॥ (८) A C D सकारहकारौ ॥ (९) B om this clause (१०) Conjectural, A D read ऽपदादावस्थानाना, C अपदावस्थानाना ॥ (११) C D पण्धो ॥ (१२) B तिण्हा, A adds क्कन्हा (see App B C D) (१३) A D जम्हा ॥ (१४) A om the remainder, up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गृह्णति, C D गिण्हद् ॥ (१६) C D वण्हौ, B places this example after निह्विषा (see App B) (१७) C D place the examples thus २१, २६, २५, २९, २४, २० (१८) So C, A अपादाविति, B अपादाति०, D अपदादिति ॥ (१९) B C D श्मशान ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य, B adds च after it (२१) A स्यात् ॥ (२२) C D दुर्ग दुग्गा ॥ (२३) A om the sūtra (२४) B क्वचिदुलोपे ॥ (२५) C D ए ॥ (२६) A B नज्जद्, C D एज्जए, C D add तैल तैल ॥ (२७) B ०ज्जद्, C D ०ज्जए ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वित्वे द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः<sup>(१)</sup> प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्वित्वे वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने<sup>(२)</sup> प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः ॥ सौख्यं सुखं<sup>(३)</sup> । <sup>(४)</sup>अर्घः अर्घो । पथ्यं पच्छं<sup>(५)</sup> । साध्यः<sup>(६)</sup> सज्जो<sup>(७)</sup> । षष्ठः कट्टो<sup>(८)</sup> । वृद्धः वुद्धो<sup>(९)</sup> । पार्थः पत्यो<sup>(१०)</sup> । वर्धमानः वद्धमानो<sup>(११)</sup> । पुष्यं पुष्पं । जिह्वा जिह्वा<sup>(१२)</sup> ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां <sup>(१३)</sup>सुक्तासुक्तविशेषाणां द्वित्वे स एव भवति ॥ <sup>(१४)</sup>अर्कः अक्को । सत्यं सच्चं<sup>(१५)</sup> । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ<sup>(१६)</sup> ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ<sup>(१६)</sup> द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोदो<sup>(१७)</sup> । <sup>(१८)</sup>क्षुद्रः खुदो<sup>(१९)</sup> । <sup>(२०)</sup>पदादाव् इति किं । <sup>(२१)</sup>भद्रः भदो<sup>(२२)</sup> ॥

॥ 29 ॥ कचिद् अन्यत्रापि ॥ २९ ॥

कचित् पदमध्येऽवसाने<sup>(२३)</sup> च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः<sup>(२४)</sup> कामवो । <sup>(२५)</sup>वैश्रवणः वेसवणो<sup>(२६)</sup> । स्पष्टं<sup>(२७)</sup> फुटं<sup>(२८)</sup> । <sup>(२९)</sup>कर्त्तव्यं

(१) A ०चतुर्थयोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B, B संयोगात्, C D संयोगाच्चौ ॥ (३) A सौख्य (for सोख्य ? but see III, 5) (४) A om the remainder (५) B पथ्य, so also C now, but originally C seems to have had पच्छ ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्जा, B सज्जो ॥ (८) B कट्टो, D सट्टो ॥ (९) B ०द्धो, C ०द्धो, D ०द्धो ॥ (१०) D पत्थो ॥ (११) B वद्धमाणो, C वद्धमाणो, D वद्धमाणो (for वद्ध०), but comp App A, II, 25 (as to ०नो for ०णो), and App C D, III, 16 (१२) B जिह्वा ॥ (१३) So A, B originally सुक्ताविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into उक्तविशेषाणां, the latter is also the reading of C D (see App B C D) (१४) B अर्का अक्का ॥ (१५) B सच्च ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुद्ध क्रुद्धो ॥ (१८) A om this example. (१९) B खुदो, D खुदो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्र ॥ (२२) A भद्रा, B भदो ॥ (२३) So C, A अवसाने, B D अवशाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यप ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पष्ट ॥ (२७) A फट, D पट ॥

कातव्यं<sup>(१)</sup> । शीर्षं<sup>(२)</sup> सीसो<sup>(३)</sup> । दीर्घः दीहो । <sup>(४)</sup>उक्तं उक्तोसं<sup>(५)</sup> ॥

॥ 30 ॥ संयोगस्थेष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर् <sup>(६)</sup>व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये इष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अग्ली<sup>(७)</sup> ।  
विश्लेषः विसलेसो<sup>(८)</sup> । <sup>(९)</sup>स्रजः पलकखो । <sup>(१०)</sup>रत्नं रतणं<sup>(१०)</sup> । वर्षं वरिसं<sup>(११)</sup> ।  
C D । सूर्यः सूरियो<sup>(१२)</sup> । <sup>(१३)</sup>सर्वपः सरिसपो<sup>(१४)</sup> । <sup>(१५)</sup>वैदूर्यः<sup>(१५)</sup>  
वेदुलियो<sup>(१६)</sup> । <sup>(१७)</sup>स्त्रा खिमा<sup>(१७)</sup> । <sup>(१८)</sup>सुक्ष्मं सुक्ष्मं<sup>(१८)</sup> । <sup>(१९)</sup>पद्मं  
पद्मं<sup>(१९)</sup> । C D ॥

॥ 31 ॥ यवयोर्<sup>(२०)</sup> इदुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः<sup>(२१)</sup> स्थाने <sup>(२२)</sup>इकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह<sup>(२३)</sup> ।  
C D । भवति हेति<sup>(२४)</sup> ॥

॥ 32 ॥ <sup>(२५)</sup>संख्यायास् <sup>(२६)</sup>तिशयोर् लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

<sup>(२७)</sup>संख्यायाः <sup>(२८)</sup>संबंधितिशयोर् लोपो भवति<sup>(२९)</sup> ॥ <sup>(३०)</sup>विंशतिः बीसा ।  
पंचाशत् पन्ना<sup>(३१)</sup> ॥

॥ 33 ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

(१) B C D कायव्य, C adds कादव ॥ (२) A शीर्षो, B शीर्ष, C D शीर्ष ॥  
(३) A सीसो, B सीस ॥ (४) A om this example (५) B उक्तोस, C D उक्तस  
(see III 8) (६) B repeats द्वयोर् after यं ॥ (७) B अग्नि ॥ (८) A विश्लेष ॥  
(९) A om this example, B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रयण ॥  
(११) A वरिस ॥ (१२) A D सूरिच, B C सूरियो ॥ (१३) B om this example,  
probably by oversight, as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs  
in A C D together (१४) A B C D सरिसपो, C D add वज्र वदर ॥ (१५) C D  
वैदूर्य ॥ (१६) A वैदुलिच, B वेदुलिचो, C वेदलिचो, D वेदलिच, C D add ह्य  
कसिणं ॥ (१७) So A, C D स्त्रा ॥ (१८) So C D, B सुक्ष्मं ॥ (१९) B पद्म, C D  
पद्मं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर् ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D इदुतौ ॥  
(२३) A तेरह; B om by mistake, as it gives only चयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥  
(२४) A B C होह, D होयाह (sic), A B place the examples २४, २३, but C D २३,  
२४ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रिं ॥ (२७) D om (२८) C स्वधिनोः तिं ॥  
(२९) A स्यात् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D पन्ना ॥



(१)सख्यासवधिनस् तकारस्य(२) च(३) लोपो(४) भवति ॥ पंचपंचाशत्(५)

(६)पणपणस ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (७)काद्वतीययोः खरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गद्वतीयस्य च खरे(८) परे लोपो भवति ॥ (९)कोकिलः(१०)  
कोद्वलो(११) । (१२)भौगिकः भोद्वो । (१३)राजी राई । (१४)प्रतिकूलः  
पद्वूलो(१५) । नदी नई(१६) । B | C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णे(१७) ॥ ३५ ॥

(१८)ककारवर्गद्वतीययोर् अवर्णे परे चत्वं भवति ॥ C D । काकाः  
काया । नागाः नाया(१९) । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्षावस्थान(२०) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या(२१) ॥ अर्कः अक्को ।  
(२२)सूर्यः सूरियो(२३) । भिक्षा भिक्षा । लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मी(२४) । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो ऽपभ्रष्टे(२५) ऽधो(२६) रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

(१) A om (२) B C D तस्य ॥ (३) B C D om (४) A लोप, om भवति ॥  
(५) B पचाशत्, and prefixes विशति वीसा, repeating the latter by mistake from  
the previous sūtra (६) A पणपणस, B D पणपणस, C पणपणस ॥ (७) C D have an  
altogether different sūtra and commentary, see App C D (८) Inserted, A B  
om (९) This example also occurs in D (see App C D) (१०) A कोकिला ॥  
(११) A कोद्वला ॥ (१२) A om this example (१३) B वनराजी वणरार्द ॥ (१४) A  
adds नूपुर नेजर । कूप कूयो (MS कूप कूच), B adds many more examples, see  
App B (१५) C अवर्ण, D वर्ष, A adds ककारद्वतीययो ॥ (१६) So B, A corrupt  
अवर्णपरयोरेफयोऽपरयोर्थत्वं स्यात् (अवर्णे परे एतयोर् यत्वं स्यात्?), but C D read  
differently, see App C D (१७) C D णया ॥ (१८) A B ०स्थाना ॥ (१९) So A,  
B C D ०व्य ॥ (२०) A om the remainder (२१) B C D सूरियो (२२) Here C D  
terminate this chapter, see App C D. (२३) D ०भ्रष्टे ॥ (२४) B om ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

(१) अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ वरचु(१) । ग्रामो(२) । (३) वाघो घसि(४) जादि ॥

॥ ३८ ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर्(५) लनौ(६) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । एकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले(७) अले (८) दुष्टलक्षसा पनमत(१०) (११) पनयिद्धितासा ॥

॥ ३९ ॥ भागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ(१२) ॥ ३९ ॥

भागधिकायां रेफमकारयोर् लशौ(१३) अवतः ॥ (१४) चंदकलनिकलं ह्वति । शेषे(१५) । हंशे(१६) । पशुत्ते(१७) ॥ C D ॥

॥ ३९ ॥ C D ३८ ॥

॥ (१८) ३१ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३८ ॥ सूत्राय अत्र ८८ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति (१९) श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणं (२०) व्यंजनविधानं (२१) तृतीयं

(२२) समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ (२३) इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं(२४) ॥

\* Ed वरच । ग्राम । वाघ घसित्वा याति ॥ A and C om the interpunctuation between व० and ग्र०, B has it, A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and घसि०, D om it throughout † Ed अरे अरे दुष्टराक्षसा प्रणमत प्रणयिस्थितासा ॥

(१) B om (२) B वरच, D वरचु ॥ (३) A गाघ, B वाघ, C D यघो ॥ (४) A om this example, B वाघ. D याघो, C D prefix the Ski वाघ ॥ (५) C D व्रसि ॥ (६) B om (७) B लोनौ ॥ (८) D चरे ॥ (९) A दुष्टलक्षसा, B दुष्टल । लसा, C दुष्टलक्षसा, D दुष्टलक्षसा ॥ (१०) So C, A पनमत, B पननमत, D पननते ॥ (११) A इद्धितासा om पन, B पुनइद्धितासा, C पनइ । दिधासा, D पनइ द्धिधासा; B explains it in the margin as Ski पुणइद्धिकाया (sic), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लशौ ॥ (१३) B लशौ ॥ (१४) A वन्दकलति कलवति, B वन्द नौ कलति ॥ कलसवति, B in the margin explains कलति by the Ski करोति, C D च० ह्वदि ॥ (१५) A शेषे, B लोसे, C D prefix the Skr शेष ॥ (१६) A B ह्वे, D om, C D prefix the Skr चस ॥ (१७) A पशुत्, B पशुते, C D om (१८) B C D om this remark (१९) A कते, B om कत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter, their third chapter terminates with sūtra ३६, see App C D (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तृर्थं ॥ (२२) A om (२३) A B D om this remark (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS, A माघ कृष्ण १, B माघ कृष्ण ८ अश्वी सवत् १८३१, D सवत् १८३१ का, C gives no date.

## EXPLANATION

The MSS C and D contain a large number of Sūtras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS, some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices, thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters, thus, on p 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sūtra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS A, given in Appendix A on p 34, again, on p 5, the letters C D in Sūtra I, 6<sup>a</sup> refer to an additional Sūtra in the MSS C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

## APPENDIX A.

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TO SŪTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

साहि० ॥ साहिज्जमान<sup>(१)</sup> साहिय्यंत<sup>(२)</sup> ॥

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(१) MS साहिसान ॥ (२) MS साहिय्यंत<sup>(२)</sup>, in A the two letters य and प are often indistinguishable

## APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 26

जिह्वो ॥ निह्वितं निह्वियं<sup>(१)</sup> । निह्विका निह्विया<sup>(२)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31 ON PAGE 32

बोद्धो ॥ (१) काको काई<sup>(४)</sup> । (२) शकुनः सजणो<sup>(५)</sup> । (३) प्रतिकूलः पद-  
 जलो<sup>(६)</sup> । काकेन काण<sup>(७)</sup> । काकः काओ । भौगिकः भोदओ ।  
 त्यागिनां<sup>(८)</sup> चाईलं<sup>(९)</sup> । प्रगुणः पजणो । (१०) अवगूढः अवजढो ।  
 त्यागेन चाण । त्यागः चाओ । सुचिरं सुदरं । शुचिः सुई ।  
 (११) प्रचुरेण पचरेण । पिशाचेन पिशाण । पिशाचः पिशाओ ।  
 वनराजिफलं वणरादफलं<sup>(१२)</sup> । (१३) वनराजी वणराई । (१४) प्रजुष्टं  
 पजुष्टं । (१५) गजेन गण । गजः गओ<sup>(१६)</sup> । (१७) पतिना पदणा ।  
 गोमती गोमई । (१८) जतुना जजणा । (१९) वातलः वाजलो ।  
 वातेन वाण । वातः वाओ<sup>(२०)</sup> । मदिरः मदरो । (२१) नदी नई ।  
 पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मण । मदः मओ । कूपिका कूदआ ।  
 कपीनां कईणं । (२२) नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिजणं । कूपेन कूण ।  
 कूपः कूओ<sup>(२३)</sup> कूवो<sup>(२४)</sup> । कविना कइणा । कापुरुषं कावुरिसं<sup>(२५)</sup>  
 काउरिसं<sup>(२६)</sup> । रवेण रण । देवः देओ<sup>(२७)</sup> । मयि मइ<sup>(२८)</sup> । प्रचुक्तं  
 पजुक्तं । मयूरः मजरो । विप्रयोगः विप्यओओ<sup>(२९)</sup> ॥

(१) MS निह्वित ॥ (२) MS निह्विय ॥ (३) The MS places this example after पजणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D (see App C D) (५) MS शकुण. शजणो ॥ (६) MS पदकूलो ॥ (७) MS काकेण ॥ (८) MS त्यागिना ॥ (९) MS चा-  
 दणो ॥ (१०) MS अवगूढ अवजढा ॥ (११) Conjectural, MS सवलेन सजलेण ॥  
 (१२) MS वराजि ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥  
 (१४) MS प्रजुष्टं प्रजुष्ट, and places it after गओ ॥ (१५) MS गयन गयणो ॥ (१६)  
 MS गज ॥ (१७) MS prefixes the example सित सिधं, which is repugnant to the  
 following sūtra (iii, 35) (१८) MS जतुना जजणा ॥ (१९) MS वातल वाजलो ॥  
 (२०) MS वाज ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A (२२) MS कूवो कूवू ॥  
 (२३) MS places २४, २२ (२४) MS. दक ॥ (२५) MS मई ॥ (२६) MS विप्रयोग ॥

## APPENDIX C

SUTRA I, 11<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 6॥ 11<sup>a</sup> ॥ क्लीवे जसुशसोर् इं<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ ११<sup>म</sup> ॥

क्लीवे वर्तमानान् नान्नः परयोः जसुशसोः इं इत् आदेशो भवति ॥

\*कमलद्वं<sup>(२)</sup> मल्लवि अलिउलद्वं करिगंडाद्वं महंति ।†असुलहम् एत्य ए जाहं ‡भलि ते एवि दूर<sup>(३)</sup> गणंति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22

भवति ॥ C D ॥ मे भणामो वयं भणामः । मे भण मां भण । मे भण  
अस्मान् भण ॥भणामः ॥ मे कयं मया कृतं । मे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । मे णिक्किटो मत्  
निःकटः । मे तं णिक्किटो अस्मात् त्वं<sup>(४)</sup> निःकटः । मे देसो मम देशः ।  
मे देसो अस्माकं देशः । मे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । मे णिहिदं  
अस्मासु निहितं ॥

\* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगडानि कांचति । असुलभम् अत्र न येषां भस्ते ते  
नापि दूर गणयन्ति ॥ † C असुलह । असुलभ दुर्लभ वा । कदा ग्रहो भवति ॥ ‡ C भलि ।  
दृष्टात्कारेण ॥

(१) See H C IV, 353 T V III, 4 25 (२) The MS. has the mark of  
interpunctuation (।) after each word of the first line, thus कमलद्वं । म० ॥  
(३) The MS. has विदू रगणति ॥ (४) MS. om.

## APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 13॥ 1<sup>a</sup> ॥ संकृतवत् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ १<sup>a</sup> ॥

प्राच्यते पदयोर् चत् संधिकार्यं तत् संकृतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1<sup>b</sup> 1<sup>c</sup> ON PAGE 14॥ 1<sup>b</sup> ॥ स्वरस्योद्धृते १<sup>c</sup> ॥ १<sup>a</sup> ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्त. स्वरौ यो<sup>(१)</sup> व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्धृत इहोच्यते ।  
स्वरस्योद्धृते स्वरौ परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गच्छणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1<sup>c</sup> ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्त्रे ॥ १<sup>a</sup> ॥

इवर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्त्रे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे<sup>(२)</sup> अपि  
अवकाशः । ए<sup>(३)</sup> वैरिवर्गे वि अवकाशो ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14 ON PAGE 18

कर्त्तृचित्<sup>(४)</sup> ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतव कैत्रवं । सौदय्यं  
सौत्रिचं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ उज्जौ<sup>(५)</sup> अपि स्ववर्गसंयुक्तौ<sup>(६)</sup>  
भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो<sup>(७)</sup> । अंजितं<sup>(८)</sup> अञ्जितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27 ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D ०ते ॥ (२) D om (३) D वैरिवर्गे ॥ (४) D ०वर्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D.  
(६) D उज्जौ and ०क्तौ ॥ (७) D उङ्कारो ॥ (८) D अंजितं अंजितं ॥

## APPENDIX B C

TO SUTRA III, 5 ON PAGE 21

क्षितं ॥ ऊर्द्धं उड्ड ॥ प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

## APPENDIX C D

TO SUTRA I, 1 ON PAGE 2

देशी० प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा\* ।

\* C adds the following declension of जष = यज्ञ, मत्ता = मातृ and णिच = नित्य ;  
जषो । जषा ॥ हे जषो । हे जषा ॥ जष । जषा or जषे ॥ जषेण or जषेण । जषेहि or जषेहि  
or जषेहिं ॥ जषस्स । जषाण or जषाह ॥ जषाथो 01 जषाउ or जषाहि or जषाहितो or  
जषा । जषेहितो ॥ जषस्स । जषाण or जषाह ॥ जषे or जषणि । जषेसु or जषेसु ॥ एव  
देवादय ॥

मत्ता । मत्ताथो or मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ हे मत्ता । हे मत्ताथो or हे मत्ताउ or हे मत्ता ॥  
मत्त । मत्ताथो 01 मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहि or मत्ताहि 01 मत्ताहि ॥ मत्ताए । मत्तार्ण  
or मत्ताह ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहितो ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताण 01 मत्ताह ॥ मत्ताए । मत्तासु 01 मत्तासु ॥

णिच । णिचाणि ॥ णिच । णिचाणि ॥ शेष यज्ञवत् ॥

\* झल्लरिपउरे<sup>(१)</sup> गामे इल्लपुलिंदाण सुम्भए सद्दो ।

तह सज्जिज्जइ चिच्चो सुहेण जह बोलेण तुंगी ॥ १ ॥

सत्तवीसं<sup>(२)</sup> (२) जोअणयरपसरो<sup>(३)</sup> जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।

(४) पडिहत्थविबगहवइवयणे ॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराप्रदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ अंध्रदेशे । वंटकसु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे ।  
कूळु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3 ON PAGES 3, 4

कुलानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चतुरो<sup>(५)</sup> ।  
तिष्ठति<sup>(६)</sup> चिद्धंति पग्ग<sup>(७)</sup> पेच्च वा<sup>(८)</sup> । यूयं तुम्हे<sup>(९)</sup> । वयं अम्हे<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

भ्यसु ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः<sup>(९)</sup> गामाहिंता । गुरुभ्यः<sup>(९)</sup> गुरुहिंता<sup>(१०)</sup> । धेनुहिंता ।  
एईहिंता । दोहिंता वेहिंता<sup>(११)</sup> । (११) तोहिंता ॥

अम्हेसु ॥ \*\* दोसुं दोसु । †† वेसु<sup>(१२)</sup> वेसु । तीसुं तीसु ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5 ON PAGE 4

सरिताह ॥ एईणं एईहं । गुरूणं गुरूहं । बुद्धीणं<sup>(१४)</sup> बुद्धीह । मळ्ळणं<sup>(१५)</sup> मळ्ळहं ।

\* C इल्लपुलिंदाण व्याघ्राणा सद्दो शब्द झल्लरिपउरे षजाप्रचुरे गामे ग्रामे सुम्भए गृह्यते ।  
तह तथा चिच्चो अग्नि सज्जिज्जइ सज्जाते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रि सुहेण सुखेन बोलेण र्थात्क्रा-  
सति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यासा तुंगी तसा तमी इति नामनिधानकोशान्तरे ॥ † C सत्तवीस  
जोअणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतियोजनकरप्रसर जाव यावत् अज्जवि अद्यापि ण न होइ भवति ।  
पडिहत्थविबगहवइवयणे हे प्रतिहस्ताविषयप्रतिपत्तिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज व्रज भत्तार भत्तार ॥  
‡ C सत्तवीसजोअण शब्दने चन्द्र । तस्य कराणा प्रसर चद्रकरप्रसर ॥ ॥ C प्रतिहस्त  
ति-स्क्रात विष रुडल यस्य स प्रतिहस्तविब । प्रतिहस्तविबो यद्वपतिश् चद्र इति बोधन ॥  
¶ C ग्रामेभ्य । गुरुभ्य । धेनुभ्य । नदीभ्य । द्वाभ्या । त्रिभ्य ॥ \*\* C दोसु । द्वि अग्रे सुप्  
(see 11, 12) । वर्गाद् अ-र्ग्यं (111, 5 द्वि-सुप्) । खरोऽण्यो (11, 4 दोसुप्) । अदागमो  
(11, 11 दोसु) । अनुखारो (11, 15 दोसु) ॥ †† C वेसु । द्वि-अग्रे सुप् (see 11, 12) ।  
वर्गे (111, 3 त्रि-सुप्, sic) । खरो (11, 4 वेसुप्) । अदागमो (11, 11 वेसु) । अनुखारो  
(11, 15 वेसु) ॥ †† C इथो ॥ विपु ॥

(१) D झल्लरिपउरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीस c m (३) D जोअण ॥ (४) D ० हच्छं,  
D विव ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिष्ठति, C om (७) C om (८) D तुम्हे and  
अम्हे ॥ (९) C om (१०) D गुरुहिंता ॥ (११) D वे ॥ (१२) D ताहिंता ॥ (१३) C  
वे ॥ (१४) D बु ॥ (१५) D मळ्ळण ॥



तुम्हाणं ॥ अम्हाणं अम्हाहं\* । (१) एमो अरहंताणं । एमो सिद्धाणं । (२) एमो  
आइरियाणं । (३) एमो उवज्झायाणं ॥ । एमो लोए सव्वसङ्गणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6 ON PAGE 5

भवति ॥ दोहं वेहं<sup>(४)</sup> । तिहं । चउहं ॥

SUTRA I, 6<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 5

॥ 6<sup>a</sup> ॥ टा एः ॥ ६<sup>a</sup> ॥

लिंगात् परष् टा इत्यस्य<sup>(५)</sup> ए आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा ।  
मज्झणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि<sup>(६)</sup> ॥ ,

TO SUTRA I, 7 ON PAGE 5

गासेहिं ॥ \*\*गुरुहिं<sup>(७)</sup> । एईहि । तुम्हेहिं<sup>(८)</sup> । अम्हेहिं । ††दोहिं<sup>(९)</sup> वेहिं ।  
तीहिं ॥

\* C नदीना । गुरुणा । वुद्धीना । मधूना । अस्माक ॥ † C एमो अरहताण नमोऽर्हता ।  
नमोऽर्हत् (१०) चतुर्थीवङ्गवचनस अग्रे भ्यप् । तवर्गस्य० (III, 16 एम अर्हत् ) । एदोद्र० (II,  
10 एमयो अर्हत् ) । खरोणा० (II, 1 एमो अर्हत् ) । वर्षविश्लेष क्त्वा र्ह इत्य् अस्य र्ह इति  
स्थित । सयोगस्य० (III, 30 एमो अरहत् ) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 एमो अरहत् ) । अदा-  
गतो० (II, 11 एमो अरहत् ) । यष्टीवच्० (II, 13) । सागमस्या० (II, 5 एमो अरहत्तण) ।  
खरो० (II, 4 एमो अरहताण) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 एमो अरहताण) ॥ ‡ C सिद्धाण ।  
सिद्धेभ्य ॥ § C आइरियाण आचार्येभ्य । आचार्य । कगच्च० (III, 34 आचार्य) । खरो०  
(II, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (आइर्य) । वर्षविश्लेष क्त्वा सयोगस्ये० (III, 30  
आइरिय) । खरो० (II, 4 आइरिया) । आम् अस्य ण. (I, 5 आइरियाण) । अनुखारो० (II,  
15 आइरियाण) ॥ || C उवज्झायाण उपाध्यायेभ्य । उपाध्याय । प्रथमन्त्० (III, 12  
उपाध्याय) । वर्गाद् (III, 5 उपाध्याय) । तवर्गस्य० (III, 16 उपाध्याय) । लोपे० (III, 24)  
तस्मिन्० (III, 26 उपाध्याय) । ऋखत्त्वं० (II, 3 उवज्झाय) । खरो० (II, 4 उवज्झाया) ।  
आसो ण (I, 5 उवज्झायाण) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 उवज्झायाण) । उवज्झायाण सिद्ध ॥  
¶ C नमो लोके सर्वसाधुभ्य ॥ \*\* C गुरुभि । नदीभि । युष्माभि । अस्माभि । दाभ्या ।  
चिभि ॥ †† C दोहिं । द्वि अग्रे भ्या । द्विव्यण् वङ्गवयण ( sic ) ज्ञेय (II, 12 द्वि-भिस्) ।  
वर्गाद् (III, 5 दिभिस्) । खरो० (II, 4 दोभिस्) । हि भिस् (I, 7 दोहिं) ॥

(१) C adds एमो अरहताण । एमो अरहताण ॥ (२) C adds एमो आइरियाण ॥  
(३) C adds एमो उवज्झायाण ॥ (४) C वे० ॥ (५) D reads only एो for इत्य० ए  
आद् ॥ (६) Dom (०) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुम्हेहिं and अम्हेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहिं  
दोहिं । वेहिं वेहिं । तीहिं तीहिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थीवङ्गवचनम् ॥

SŪTRA I, 10<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 6

॥ 10<sup>a</sup> ॥ द्विचिश्चद्वाभ्यां जस्रश्चोर् णिः ॥ १०<sup>a</sup> ॥

दुषि विषि दुवे\* दो वे । तिषि<sup>(१)</sup> । (१) एवं शसोऽपि ॥

## TO SŪTRA I, 13 ON PAGE 7

सोहा ॥ (१) चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य डम्ः द्वित्वसकार एव भवति न तु णो ॥

## TO SŪTRA I, 19 ON PAGE 9

C D read the Sūtra तं तुं<sup>(४)</sup> वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

## TO SŪTRA I, 20 ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

## TO SŪTRA I, 24 ON PAGE 10.

निक्खंते ॥ (५) तुह्मेहिंते अन्हे<sup>(६)</sup> धिट्ठा<sup>(७)</sup> । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥

SŪTRAS I, 25<sup>a</sup>, 25<sup>b</sup> ON PAGE 11

॥ 25<sup>a</sup> ॥ तुह्मन् आमि ॥ २५<sup>a</sup> ॥

युष्मद्ः आमि परे तुह्मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुहं चिर्या ते गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25<sup>b</sup> ॥ तद् डो ॥ २५<sup>b</sup> ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ तद्<sup>(८)</sup> । तुह्मि ॥ तुह्मेसु<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

\* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्णविच्छेप कलाद्वौ इति स्थितौ । सयोगस्ये<sup>०</sup> (III, 30) इत्यनेन उ प्रत्यय आगत (द्वौ) । खरो<sup>०</sup> (II, 4) इत्यनेन वै इत्यस्य वे भवति (द्ववे) ॥ † C चिय । एवार्यै णद्-चिय-चेया<sup>०</sup> (II, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् त्वयि सिद्धरूप । वर्माद् (III, 5 तयि) । कगच्चज<sup>०</sup> (III, 34 तद्) । तद् सिद्ध ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो<sup>०</sup> (III, 17 तुष्मद्) । रशपाणा स (III, 18 तुष्मद्) । वर्मो (III, 3 तुष्मद्) । श्चयोर्<sup>०</sup> (III, 23 तुह्मद्) । अदागसो<sup>०</sup> (II, 11) इत्य् अनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुह्म) । एमि डे (I, 14 तुह्मि) ॥

(१) D places तिषि after एव शसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुषि, etc , instead of the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads अकारात्, om किं ; C om the whole of this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss , D gives it as part of the text (४) C तु ॥ (५) D तुहो ॥ (६) D अन्हे ॥ (७) C धिट्ठा ॥ (८) C om. (९) Here follows sūtra II, 26 (see p 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26<sup>a</sup>—26<sup>d</sup> ON PAGE 11

॥ 26<sup>a</sup> ॥ ह्रं हं अह (१) सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ २६<sup>a</sup> ॥

असदः सौ परे ह्रं (१) हं अह एते (१) आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः (४) ॥  
(५) ह्रं सौ एरो (१) । तेण हं विद्धो । अहं कथयणामो\* ॥

॥ 26<sup>b</sup> ॥ अहं जसि ॥ २६<sup>b</sup> ॥

असदो जसि परे अहं भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अहं मणुस्सा (७) सूर। वयं  
मनुष्याः शूराः (८) ॥

॥ 26<sup>c</sup> ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६<sup>c</sup> ॥

असदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः (९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां  
पश्य ॥

॥ 26<sup>d</sup> ॥ अहं शसि (१०) ॥ २६<sup>d</sup> ॥

असदः शसि (१०) परे अहं भवति । सविभक्तेः (११) ॥ अहं पेच्छ । अस्मान्  
पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 12

॥ 31<sup>a</sup> ॥ (१२) मदं उतै ॥ ३१<sup>a</sup> ॥

(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ † मदं (१२) । अहंमि (१३) ॥ (१४) अहंमि (१५) ॥

\* C कथयणामो हतप्रणाम ॥ † C मदं । मयि । कथयण० (in, 31) इति मदं सिद्धं ॥

(१) C places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D ह्रं ॥ (३) C om (४) C D place सवि०  
before सौ ॥ (५) D अहं ॥ (६) D एरो ॥ (७) C मणुस्सा ॥ (८) C सूर। ॥ (९) C  
D place सवि० before अमि ॥ (१०) D शसि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before  
अहं ॥ (१२) C om sūtra (१३) D मदं ॥ (१४) D om (१५) Here follows sūtra  
n, 27 (see p 22) in C D

## TO SUTRA II, 5 ON PAGE 15

गितं ॥ ऋद्धिः<sup>(१)</sup> इद्धी<sup>(२)</sup> । वृषभः वसहो \*उसहो<sup>(३)</sup> रिसहो ॥ वृहस्यति-  
 शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवन्ति ॥ मिअस्सई भुअस्सई भयस्सई<sup>(४)</sup> ।  
 विहस्सई वुहस्सई वहस्सई । मिअप्पई भुअप्पई भयप्पई<sup>(५)</sup> ।  
 विहप्पई<sup>(६)</sup> वुहप्पई वहप्पई । मिअप्पई<sup>(७)</sup> भुअप्पई भयप्पई<sup>(८)</sup> ।  
 विहप्पई वुहप्पई वहप्पई<sup>(९)</sup> ॥ सट्ठक् वर्णः सरिवणो । सट्ठक् रूपः  
 सरिख्वो । सट्ठशः सरिसो । सट्ठजः सरिच्छो । एतादृशः एआ-  
 रिसो । भवादृशः भवारिसो । यादृशः जारिसो । तादृशः तारिसो ।  
 कीदृशः केरिसो । ईदृशः<sup>(१०)</sup> एलिसो<sup>(११)</sup> । अन्यादृशः अणारिसो ।  
 अस्सादृशः अन्हारिसो । उप्पादृशः तुम्हारिसो । इत्यादि ।

## TO SUTRA II, 9 ON PAGE 16

कउल्ला ॥ सौधं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

## TO SUTRA II, 11 ON PAGE 17.

भरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं० । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

\* C वृषभः । खरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन वृ इत्यस्य वृ (वृषभ) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन  
 वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थित (उषभ) । रश्या० (iii, 18 उसभ) । हो० (iii, 13 उसह) ।  
 एदोद्र० (ii, 10 उसहो) । खराणा० (ii, 1 उसहो) ॥ † C वृहस्यति । खरा० (ii, 5  
 विह) । पवयोरु० (iii, 22 विह) । प्रथम० (iii, 11 मिह) । पुन प्रथम० (iii, 11  
 मिह) । चकारस्य खस्य विक्षेपे छते ह्य इति स्थित (मिह्य) । अदागमो० (ii, 11)  
 इत्यनेन हलोप (मिह्य) । श्वलोभ्यो० (iii, 2 मिह्यसति) । लोपे० (iii, 24 मिह्यसति) ।  
 कगचज० (iii, 34 मिह्यसद्) । खरो० (ii, 4 मिह्यसद्) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 मिह्यसद्) ।  
 मिह्यसद् इति सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C सट्ठक् वर्णः । खरा० (ii, 5 सट्ठक्) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16  
 सट्ठक्) । सट्ठहा० (iii, 21 सट्ठक्) । रल्लयोरु० (iii, 22 सट्ठक्) । अदागमो० (ii,  
 11 सरि-वर्णः) । रेफ० (iii, 9 सरिवण) । लोपे० (iii, 24 सरिवण) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10  
 सरिवण) । खराणा० (ii, 1 सरिवणो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । अदागमः ॥

(१) C ऋद्धि, D ऋद्धी ॥ (२) C इद्धी, D इद्धी ॥ (३) D om (४) C places this after  
 वृहस्यति ॥ (५) C places this after वृहस्यति ॥ (६) D places this after वृहस्यति ॥  
 (७) D has again प्प in the following forms, instead of प्प ॥ (८) C places this  
 after वृहस्यति ॥ (९) D repeats वहस्यति ॥ (१०) D एदृशः ॥ (११) So both C D

कम् ॥ सन्यक्<sup>(१)</sup> सम्म<sup>(२)</sup> । ईषत्<sup>(३)</sup> ईसं ॥

सिरे० ॥ सिराण\* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12 ON PAGE 17

Commentary सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं वज्र० ॥

वम० ॥ ण्यणा । सोहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13<sup>a</sup>, 13<sup>b</sup> ON PAGE 17

॥ 13<sup>a</sup> ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया अर्षे ॥ १३<sup>b</sup> ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः । चउवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्ययरा<sup>(४)</sup> ने  
पसीअंतु ॥

॥ 13<sup>b</sup> ॥ सप्तम्यास् तृतीया अर्षे ॥ १३<sup>c</sup> ॥

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं । तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये<sup>(५)</sup> ॥

SUTRA II, 14 ON PAGE 18

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतङ्गनज्राः ॥ १४ ॥

सुता वर्णाः डकारनकारञ्काराश् च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ श्लोकः ।

इि औ खरौ ततः पश्चात् च ऋ ऌ ॥ चतुःखराः ।

ऐअः डञ्जनशष्पाः<sup>(६)</sup> सन्ति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

\* C शिरस् । (शिरसा) ॥ † C नयने । शोभेते ॥ ‡ C ऐऔ खरौ० । गाथा(१) ।

तेत्तीस विजणाइ सत्तवीसा सरा तच्चा भणिया ।

चत्तारि य जोगवद्दा चउसङ्गी(७) मूलवसा थे ॥ १ ॥

चदवरल । जणनडम । ऋढधम । जउदगव । इठयखफ(८) । चउतकप । शपस ॥ १३ ॥  
अथावा । इईई । उऊऊ । ऋऋऋ । लृलृलृ । एएए ऐऐऐ । औऔऔ ॥ १० ॥  
इव प्य अच (९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्षा भवति सङ्कते(११) । प्राकृते ५२ भवति ॥ थो इति  
सवोधने(१२) ॥ § C अ. इति विसर्जनीय । (१३) अकार उच्चारणार्थ । कुमारीस्तनयुगला-  
हतिर् वर्षा विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । शृगवद् बालवत्सल्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवन्नेत्रवत् छण्यसर्पस्य  
(१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

(१) C om (२) B रम् ॥ (३) C om, D इषत् ॥ (४) D तिच्छयरा ॥ (५) See  
Bhāgavata (ed Weber) p 260, Kalpasūtra (ed Jacobi) p 33 (६) C अ ड ज ॥  
(७) C ०सङ्गी ॥ (८) खफइठय ॥ (९) MS indistinct, य्प for प्य ॥ (१०) C ॥ ६६ ॥  
(११) C reverses प्राकृते सङ्कते ॥ (१२) See H C II, 203, 199 (१३) C अकार,  
om र ॥ (१४) C विसर्गा । यमिति ॥



तावच् कृद्दस्य यावच् कृद्दस्य तु तातावौ जाजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा । etc.

TO SUTRA II, 24 ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

\*गुरुलज्जप्रयत्याणं तग्गुणमुल्लं ह्वेद सव्वेसिं ।

कुद्धिअतिसिआण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं असुल्लं रहु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26 ON PAGE 21

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं शृणु ॥

निशम्यत ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

कृतं ॥ भे कयं युष्माभिः कृतं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो<sup>(१)</sup> त्वं अहं निःकट्ठः ।

भे अहं सूर्रो युष्मद् अहं शूरः<sup>(२)</sup> । भे देसो तव देशः । भे देसो

युष्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं त्वयि निहित । भे णिहिदं युष्मासु

निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27<sup>a</sup>—27<sup>i</sup> ON PAGE 22

॥ 27<sup>a</sup> ॥ इजेराः पादपूरणे<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ २७<sup>a</sup> ॥

॥ 27<sup>b</sup> ॥ जि अव्ययं एवार्थं ॥ २७<sup>b</sup> ॥

॥ 27<sup>c</sup> ॥ एवरि आनंतर्था<sup>(२)</sup>, ॥ २७<sup>c</sup> ॥

॥ 27<sup>d</sup> ॥ एवरु केवलार्थं<sup>(३)</sup> ॥ २७<sup>d</sup> ॥

॥ 27<sup>e</sup> ॥ यदेः कुडु<sup>(४)</sup> ॥ २७<sup>e</sup> ॥

\* C गुरुलज्जप्रयत्याणा तद्गुणमौल्य भवति सर्वथा । चुधितद्विपिताना भोज्य जलपान (तद्गुणमौल्य) ॥

(१) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (२) C D सूर ॥ (३) See H C II, 217 (४) See H C II, 188 (५) See H. C. II, 187 (६) See H C IV, 422, 19.

॥ २७' ॥ धूयु खिखु सुत्साया ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

॥ २७<sup>६</sup> ॥ दडवड<sup>(१)</sup> शौघार्थे ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

\*दडवड<sup>(१)</sup> होइ विहाणु ॥

॥ २७<sup>४</sup> ॥ अतिरभसाद ऊर्द्धमुखयेतलतो गमने डवडव ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

डवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ २७<sup>१</sup> ॥ ण णउ णाद णावड<sup>(१)</sup> जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

(<sup>४</sup>)मिव पिव विव व्व व विअ इवार्थे वा भवन्ति ॥

॥ २७<sup>४</sup> ॥ दाणिं एहिं<sup>(५)</sup> एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

॥ २७<sup>१</sup> ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिनतिमौ ॥ २७<sup>०</sup> ॥

दोहा<sup>(६)</sup> ।

कालु लहेविणु जोइया (<sup>७</sup>)जिम जिम मोऊ<sup>(८)</sup> गलेइ ।

(<sup>९</sup>)तिम तिम दंसणु<sup>(१०)</sup> लहइ जो<sup>(११)</sup> णिवमे<sup>(१२)</sup> अण्णु<sup>(१३)</sup> सुणेइ ॥१॥

SU'TRA II, 29<sup>a</sup>

॥ २९<sup>०</sup> ॥ नो डः ॥ २९<sup>०</sup> ॥

\* C शौघ (भवति) विभात ॥ (दोहा) ।

ढोला मद<sup>(१४)</sup> तुऊ<sup>(१५)</sup> वारिथा मा कुब दीहा माणु ।

णिइए<sup>(१५)</sup> गमिही रऊडो दडवड<sup>(१)</sup> होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

मान प्राप्त नायक प्रति काचिन् नायिका प्राह<sup>(१६)</sup> । ढोला हे नायक मया ल वारित दीहा दीर्घ मान दर्य मा कुब । निद्रथा राचिर् गमिष्यति । दडवड<sup>(१)</sup> शौघ विभात प्रभातं हे इ<sup>(१७)</sup> (भवति) ॥ † C काल (लब्धा जायाया) यथा यथा मोह गलति । तथा तथा दर्शन लभते (यावत् नियमेन आत्मान सन्यते) ॥

(१) C दडवड ॥ (२) D णावड ॥ (३) See H C IV, 444 (४) C om the commentary (५) D एहिं ॥ (६) C om, D गाथा ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D मोह ॥ (९) D तिमि तिमि ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जौवो, D जौव, both con metr (१२) D णिवमे ॥ (१३) D अण्णु c m (१४) C मद तुऊ c m (१५) C णिइए, here ए is short, metri causa, = णिइए, see Vr. 5, 22 (१६) C नयका प्राहा ॥ (१७) C हो ॥



स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् नस्य प्रायो डो भवति ॥ संहननं ।  
संहडण सघडणं सहणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3 ON PAGE 23

रत्नं ॥ स्यष्टं फुडं । स्यष्टं<sup>(१)</sup> पुट्टं<sup>(२)</sup> । उत्थाष्टं उक्किट्टं<sup>(३)</sup> । नष्टः णट्टो<sup>(४)</sup> ।  
दुष्टः दुट्टो<sup>(५)</sup> । सुष्टः सुट्टो<sup>(६)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6 ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अत्ता<sup>(१)</sup> अल्ला । सर्वज्ञः  
सव्वणू<sup>(२)</sup> ॥ वेति किं । वच्ची वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9 ON PAGE 25

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भसलो ॥  
हस्तो ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढुमो पढुमो पढमो पुढमो ॥  
स्त्री थी ॥

SUTRA III, 11<sup>a</sup>

॥ 11<sup>a</sup> ॥ तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमाद्वितीयौ ॥ ११<sup>a</sup> ॥

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमाद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं  
णकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः  
वक्खो । घर्मः खम्मो । राजा राचा । जर्जरं चच्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो<sup>(१)</sup> ।  
निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः क्खच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं<sup>(२)</sup> । मंडलं मंटलं ।  
डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंडः संठो<sup>(३)</sup> । ढक्का<sup>(४)</sup> ठक्का । मदनः  
मतनो<sup>(५)</sup> । कंदर्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मधुरं ।  
बंधवः पंथवो ॥

(१) D स्यूट ॥ (२) C °ट, D °ट्ट ॥ (३) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥ (४) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥  
(५) D अत ॥ (६) C D सव्वण ॥ (७) So C D, with द ॥ (८) So C D, with ड, but  
in C corrected to ट ॥ (९) D सट्टो<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ (१०) D ढक्का<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ (११) So C D,  
but C has a marginal correction in pencil रुतरो ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26

पडि० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्तिः<sup>(१)</sup> विहत्थी<sup>(२)</sup> । वसतिः वसत्थी ।  
 भरतः भरद्दे । कातरः काहलो । मातुलिंगः<sup>(३)</sup> माज्जलिंगो ।  
 पापं पावं । पुत्रः विट्ठो । पुत्री विट्ठी<sup>(४)</sup> ।

SUTRA III, 15<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 27.

॥ 15<sup>a</sup> ॥ पवयोर् सो वा ॥ १५<sup>a</sup> ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ शवरः<sup>(५)</sup> सवरो समरो ।  
 खन्नः<sup>(६)</sup> सिमिणो सिमिणो । नीवी<sup>(७)</sup> णीवी णीमी । पूर्वः<sup>(८)</sup> पुव्वो<sup>(९)</sup>  
 पुरिसो ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 16 ON PAGE 27.

दड्ढो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वड्ढमाणो । दड्ढः वुड्ढो ॥  
 धणं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जण । रुदितं रुणं ॥

SUTRA III, 17<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 27

॥ 17<sup>a</sup> ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७<sup>a</sup> ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सजति  
 वोसरद् ॥ यट्ठिः लट्ठी<sup>(१)</sup> । यट्ठिका लट्ठिआ<sup>(२)</sup> ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 19 ON PAGE 28.

नानं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 20 ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ <sup>(१०)</sup>करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणद् ॥  
 वज्झो ॥ भगिणी । वह्निनी भद्दणी ॥

(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहत्थी ॥ (३) D ०लिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्ठी ॥ (५) D om (६) D पूर्वः ॥ (७) D पुव्वो ॥ (८) C लवी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C ०ठिया, D ०ट्ठिआ ॥ (१०) C om this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21 ON PAGE 28

जिह्वा ॥ वडमुखं<sup>(१)</sup> वलमुखं । गरुडः<sup>(२)</sup> गरुलो । तडागः तलाओ<sup>(३)</sup> ।  
 कौडति कीलड<sup>(४)</sup> । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 28.

॥ 22 ॥ पवयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ २२ ॥

पवयोर् व्यत्सासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ 22<sup>a</sup> ॥ रलयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ २२<sup>m</sup> ॥

पर्यंकः । etc

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 29

जन्दा ॥ कस्मात् कन्दा । तस्मात् तन्दा<sup>(५)</sup> । तस्मिन् तन्दि<sup>(६)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30 ON PAGE 31

वरिसं ॥ श्री सिरी । द्वीः<sup>(७)</sup> हिरी । अर्दत् अरहंतो । आचार्यः आय-  
 रिओ<sup>(८)</sup> । स्त्री इत्थी<sup>(९)</sup> ॥

पदुम ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लज्जवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुह्वी ।  
<sup>(१०)</sup>वक्त्री <sup>(१०)</sup>वज्जवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया<sup>(११)</sup> । स्यादादः  
 सिआवाओ<sup>(१२)</sup> । भव्यः भविओ<sup>(१३)</sup> । <sup>(१४)</sup>श्वः क्षतं सुवे कथं । स्वे  
 जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीआ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31 ON PAGE 31

तेरह ॥ अयस्लिंशत्<sup>(१५)</sup> तेतीसा । अयोविंशतिः<sup>(१५)</sup> तेवीसा ॥

(१) D व० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तडाग ॥ (४) D कीलड ॥ (५) D तन्दा ॥ (६) D तस्मिन् ॥ (७) D द्वी ॥ (८) D अरि ॥ (९) D इत्थी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D आवा ॥ (१३) D भवि ॥ (१४) D श्व० ॥ (१५) C om.

## SUTRA III, 31 ON PAGE 32

॥ 31 ॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्<sup>(१)</sup> ॥ ३४ ॥

खरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग्  
भवति ॥ क<sup>(१)</sup> । काकः काओ<sup>(२)</sup> ॥ ग । नागः णाओ<sup>(३)</sup> ॥ च । पिशाचः  
पिसाओ<sup>(४)</sup> ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिअं ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प ।  
नूपुरं ऐउरं ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ<sup>(५)</sup> ॥ व । देवः देओ<sup>(६)</sup> ॥ अनादेर्  
इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्टो<sup>(७)</sup> ॥ कचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥  
पुनः उणो<sup>(८)</sup> । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उसट्टो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥  
अर्कः<sup>(१०)</sup> अक्को । चक्रं<sup>(१०)</sup> चक्कं । कचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तंचरः एअंचरो ।  
नमस्कारः एमोयारो एवयारो<sup>(११)</sup> ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् कचिन् न भवति ॥  
शपयः<sup>(१२)</sup> सवट्टो । शापः<sup>(१३)</sup> सावो । सकुसुमं<sup>(१४)</sup> । प्रयागजलं<sup>(१०)</sup> पयाग-  
जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुत्तं<sup>(१५)</sup> । विप्रयोगः विप्पजोओ ॥

## SUTRA III, 35 ON PAGE 32

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्णोऽवर्णपरो यत्वं आपद्यते ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 36 ON PAGE 32

लच्छी ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षण<sup>(१६)</sup> व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

## TO SUTRA III, 39 ON PAGE 33

पण्डिते ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । <sup>(१७)</sup>एषः एष्टे । <sup>(१७)</sup>मेषः<sup>(१८)</sup> मेशे ॥

(१) See H. C I, 177 (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc (३) D काउ,  
and adds the following examples कोकिला कोइला । काकी काई । प्रतिबूलः पडि-  
कलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C  
उट्टो, D उट्टो, D adds the Skt परपुष्ट ॥ (९) D ओणो ॥ (१०) C om (११) D adds  
नवकार ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C आप (modern Hindi खाप) (१४) C सकुसुम ॥  
(१५) C पजुत्त ॥ (१६) D reads 'प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om this example (१८)  
D मेष ॥

गाथा<sup>(१)</sup> ।

(१) लहृश्रवश्रनमिलशुलशिलविश्रलिदमंदाललाजिदंद्दिजुगे<sup>(२)</sup> ।

वौलजिणे पक्खालदु मम <sup>(३)</sup>शयलम् अवज्जजंवालं\* ॥ १ ॥

SŪTRA III, 39<sup>a</sup> ON PAGE 33

॥ 39<sup>a</sup> ॥ <sup>(४)</sup>शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य दकारो वा भवति ॥ <sup>(५)</sup>दाव ताव । कदं

कयं । <sup>(६)</sup>गदं गयं । सुदं सुअं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः<sup>(७)</sup> ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवाप्रभंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।

मागधी <sup>(८)</sup>शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश्च प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१॥

\* Ed रभस वश्र-नस-सुर-शिर-विगलित-मदार-राजिताहि-युगः ।

वौरजिन प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् अयद्यज्जवाल ॥ १ ॥

(१) C om (२) D हलश्र, C originally हलश्र, but corrected into लहृश्र, also C D नसिच्च, but in H C IV, 288 नसिल, also D विश्रविद् ॥ (३) D भुगे ॥

(४) C D सयलम् ॥ (५) C D give no sūtra for this commentary, but add it as if it were part of sūtra 39 (६) D prefixes ताप (sic), see H C IV, 262 (७) C D read पदं पय ॥ (८) C om (९) C D सौ० ॥

## APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3 ON PAGE 3

शस् ॥ गंगा । (१) तुम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) वो वः । (३) अम्हे रक्खउ(२) ।  
रक्खउ(२) नो(४) नः ॥

डसि ॥ (५) तस्सा तस्सा(६) ॥

डम् ॥ (७) पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं(८) ॥

डि ॥ गामे(९) । कुले(९) । तत्र(१०) तत्थ(११) । तस्मिं(१२) तन्दि । त्वयि तयि ।  
मयि(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4 ON PAGE 15

इंगाला ॥ (१४) विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्(१५) तीसा । वच्चे(१५) \*वुच्छं(१६) ।  
(१७) वच्चि वेन्नि(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५) संगट्ठाति संगिण्हइ(१८) । क्वा कट्टु(१९) । †नयनविह्निनं(२०)  
मुहं । निर्वार्यते(२१) नीवारिअइ(२२) ॥

\* B ब्रुवे ॥ † C नयनविह्नीन मुख ॥

(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खओ ॥ (३) D अच्चे ॥ (४) C D वो ॥ (५) B तस्सा ॥  
(६) B ताह, D adds यस्सा जस्सा जिस्सा । कस्सा कस्सा किस्सा, and C D add गिट्ठो  
(see I, 12) (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्तो ॥ (८) C D add Skr तव सुह । मम सुह ॥  
(९) C D add गामस्मि and कुलस्मि ॥ (१०) C om (११) D तत्थ ॥ (१२) B C D  
तस्मिन्, the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तस्मि (or तस्मि ?) ।  
तन्दि । तन्दि (or तन्दि ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तद् मद, D त्वयि तद् मयि मद, C only  
तद् मद ॥ (१४) B om this example (see III, 32 II, 15) (१५) B om Skr transla-  
tion, but see the marginal gloss (१६) D वु० ॥ (१७) D repeats वेन्नि ॥ (१८) B  
संगिहइ ॥ (१९) B काट्टु, D कट्ट (see II, 19) (२०) B नदन वज्जमुह ॥ (२१) So B, C  
D निवार्यते ॥ (२२) B निव्वा०, C D णीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3 ON PAGE 24

भक्करो ॥ कः करोति को करइ । कः पचति को पचइ<sup>(१)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6 ON PAGE 24.

लच्ची ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्या । तीक्ष्णं तिहं<sup>(२)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 29

जन्हा ॥ <sup>(३)</sup>कृष्णः कण्ठो<sup>(४)</sup> । ग्रीष्मः<sup>(५)</sup> गिहो<sup>(६)</sup> । जम्हा<sup>(७)</sup> जन्हा<sup>(८)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24 ON PAGE 29

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्को<sup>(९)</sup> । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27 ON PAGE 30

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । स्वर्गं सगं । स० स० ।  
 दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । नाय्यः<sup>(१०)</sup> नट्टो<sup>(११)</sup> । भुक्तं भुक्तं । धान्यं धन्नं<sup>(१२)</sup> ।  
 सयं सय्यो । शुल्लं<sup>(१३)</sup> सुल्लं । काव्यं कव्वं । शस्यं सस्सं<sup>(१४)</sup> ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35 ON PAGE 32

नाया ॥ पिशाचाः पिशाया । <sup>(१५)</sup>वनराजा वणराया । माता माया<sup>(१६)</sup> ।  
 यदा जया<sup>(१७)</sup> । <sup>(१८)</sup>पापफलं पाचहलं ॥ अवर्ण इति किं ॥ देवाः  
 देव्वा<sup>(१९)</sup> । पिता<sup>(२०)</sup> पित्रा<sup>(२१)</sup> । <sup>(२२)</sup>लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनं  
 भुअणं । कचिद् भवत्य् एव ॥ पिवति<sup>(२३)</sup> पियइ ॥

(१) B पचइ or पचइ<sup>२</sup> ॥ (२) B तीक्ष्ण ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १२, p 29, A C D place it before लृष्ण (see p 29), but B after जन्हा ॥  
 (४) A कण्ठो (see note १२, p 29) (५) C D ग्रीष्मो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मान् (see p 29) (७) B D जम्हा ॥ (८) D जन्हा ॥ (९) C D नाट्य ॥ (१०) C D नट्ट ॥ (११) So B, C D धन्न ॥ (१२) Conjectural, B has शुक्रं, C D शुक्तं शुक्तं ॥ (१३) B शल्ल ॥ (१४) B om this example (१५) B adds शारदा शारदा ॥ (१६) B adds अपकृत अवकृत (MS अपकृत अपकृत अवकृत), then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देया ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १६ (१९) D पिया ॥ (२०) B om the remainder (२१) C om

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| 2    |                    | लिङ्गं च ॥                         | 2           | 2     | 2  | 2  |
| 3    |                    | तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥      | 3           | 3     | 3  | 3  |
| 4    |                    | क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥                 | 4           | 4     | 4  | 4  |
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| 6    |                    | संख्याया एहः ॥                     | 6           | 6     | 6  | 6  |
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| 7    |                    | द्वि भिसः ॥                        | 7           | 7     | 8  | 8  |
| 8    |                    | द्वितो भ्यसः ॥                     | 8           | 8     | 9  | 9  |
| 9    |                    | तृतीयादीनां एवं एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ | 9           | 9     | 10 | 10 |
| 10   |                    | आउ लोपा जश्शसोः ॥                  | 10          | 10    | 11 | 11 |
|      | CD 10 <sup>a</sup> | दित्रिशब्दाभ्यां जश्शसोर् णिः ॥    | —           | —     | 12 | 12 |
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|      | C 11 <sup>a</sup>  | क्लीवे जश्शसोर् इं ॥               | —           | —     | 14 | —  |
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| 16   |                    | तो तु द्वितो लोपास् तस्य आतः ॥     | 16          | 16    | 19 | 18 |
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## CHAPTER I

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| 19   | C D                | [तं तुं तुवं तुहं C D] तुमं सौ सवि-<br>भक्तेः ॥ | 19 | 19 | 22 | 21 |
| 20   | C D                | अमि तुए [तुमं तं C D] च ॥                       | 20 | 20 | 24 | 23 |
| 21   |                    | तुम्हे जसि ॥                                    | 21 | 21 | 23 | 22 |
| 22   |                    | तुम्हे शसि ॥                                    | 22 | 22 | 25 | 24 |
| 23   |                    | ते तुमे तद् तए टायां ॥                          | 23 | 23 | 26 | 25 |
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| 25   |                    | तुह्नुज्जुतुह्नु षष्ठ्यां ॥                     | 25 | 25 | 29 | 28 |
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|      | CD 25 <sup>b</sup> | तद् डौ  | —  | —  | 31 | 30 |
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| 1    |                    | खराणां खरे प्रकृति लोप संधयः ॥   | 1  | 1  | 1  | 2  |
|      | D 1 <sup>b</sup>   | खरस्य उद्धृते ॥                  | —  | —  | —  | 3  |
|      | D 1 <sup>c</sup>   | न युवर्णस्य अस्वे ॥              | —  | —  | —  | 4  |
| 2    |                    | संयोगपरे लोपः ॥                  | 2  | 2  | 2  | 5  |
| 3    |                    | ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥                 | 3  | 3  | 3  | 6  |
| 4    |                    | खरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥                | 4  | 4  | 4  | 7  |
| 5    |                    | खरा रि च ऋवर्णस्य ॥              | 5  | 5  | 5  | 8  |
| 6    |                    | एरैतः ॥                          | 6  | 6  | 6  | 9  |
| 7    |                    | अइ च ॥                           | 7  | 7  | 7  | 10 |
| 8    |                    | ओरौतः ॥                          | 8  | 8  | 8  | 11 |
| 9    |                    | अउ च ॥                           | 9  | 9  | 9  | 12 |
| 10   |                    | एद् ओद् र लोपा विसर्जनीयस्य ॥    | 10 | 10 | 10 | 13 |
| 11   |                    | अदागमोऽनुस्वर लोपौ च व्यंजनस्य ॥ | 11 | 11 | 11 | 14 |
| 12   |                    | द्वित्वं वज्रत्वेन ॥             | 12 | 12 | 12 | 15 |
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| 14   | CD                 | न सुतङ् [-न CD] जाः ॥            | 14 | 14 | 16 | 19 |
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| 19   | C D                 | नु ता चा हु नु ढण [ढाण C D]<br>ओ [वि C D] [प्पि A B] [प्पिणु<br>वेप्पिणु C D] पूर्वकालार्थे ॥ | 19 | 19 | 21    | 24    |
| 20   |                     | मल् अर्थे आल इल्लौ ॥  | 20 | 20 | 22    | 25    |
|      | C D                 | तत्र भवेऽपि इल्ल उल्लौ ॥  |    |    |       |       |
|      | C D                 | अधो हेट्टः ॥  |    |    |       |       |
| 21   | C D                 | ता ताव [जा जावास् C D] तावद्<br>[यावतोः C D] ॥  | 21 | 21 | 23    | 26    |
| 22   |                     | उपमाने पिव इव विव विच व्व व जहा<br>वतः ॥  | 22 | 22 | 24    | 27    |
| 23   |                     | ओलं अव अपयोः ॥  | 23 | 23 | 25    | 28    |
| 24   |                     | खलोः खुः ॥  | 24 | 24 | 26    | 29    |
| 25   |                     | तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥   | 25 | 25 | 27    | 30    |
| 26   |                     | भे सर्वासु युद्धः ॥   | 26 | 26 | I, 32 | I, 31 |
| 27   |                     | अस्सदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥  | 27 | 27 | I, 44 | I, 43 |
|      | C D 27 <sup>a</sup> | इजेराः पादपूरणे ॥   | —  | —  | 28    | 31    |
|      | „ 27 <sup>b</sup>   | जि अय्यं एवार्थे ॥  | —  | —  | 29    | 32    |
|      | „ 27 <sup>c</sup>   | णवरि आनंतर्थाय्ये ॥   | —  | —  | 30    | 33    |
|      | „ 27 <sup>d</sup>   | णवरु केवलार्थे ॥  | —  | —  | 31    | 34    |
|      | „ 27 <sup>e</sup>   | यदेः कुडु ॥   | —  | —  | 32    | 35    |
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|      | „ 27 <sup>g</sup>   | दडवड शीघ्रार्थे ॥   | —  | —  | 34    | 37    |
|      | „ 27 <sup>h</sup>   | अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्य इतस्ततो गमने<br>डवडव ॥   | —  | —  | 35    | 38    |

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|      | „ 27 <sup>k</sup>  | दाणिं एणिहं एत्ताहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ | —  | —  | 37 | 40 |
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| 3  | वर्गे ॥   | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  |
| 4  | शे वर्गाद्यं ॥                                    | 4  | 4  | 4  | 4  |
| 5  | वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥                                | 5  | 5  | 5  | 5  |
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| 7  | दो वे वा ॥  | 7  | 7  | 7  | 7  |
| 8  | षाट् टः ॥   | 8  | 8  | 8  | 8  |
| 9  | रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥                                  | 9  | 9  | 9  | 9  |
| 10 | असंयोगस्य ॥                                       | 10 | 10 | —  | —  |
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| 24   |                    | लोपे द्वित्वं ॥                                    | 24 | 24 | 26   | 26   |
| 25   |                    | क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥                                 | 25 | 25 | 27   | 27   |
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| Page 14, | line 1, | read | बुद्धि | for | बुद्धी |
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On page 9 in footnote (२६) insert B मनुष्या, and on page 53, in footnote (५) insert C D prefix देवानु देवा, and in footnote (८) insert C D prefix देवे देवस्मि ॥

